

The Practice of Salawat Nariyah in Rural Javanese Society Indonesia: Religiosity or Sociality?

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Abstract

This study aims to understand the religious practice of Salawat Nariyah within traditional Javanese Muslims in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Even though the Salawat Nariyah is a ritual prayer, the Salawat is also intended for social and cultural purposes. However, limited studies have been conducted to understand whether the Salawat Nariyah practice has functioned as ritual or social purposes. Through the use of socio-religious theory, this study employed a qualitative approach to understanding the Salawat Nariyah as a religious and social function within the community. Data were gathered from a three months observation, two focus groups discussion, and in-depth interviews with involved Salawat Nariyah participants. The findings show that the Salawat Nariyah is about religious practices, social and cultural practices to strengthen social bonds by combining the practice of Salawat Nariyah and social activities. The Salawat Nariyah also play function as a connection binding between the community culture and the religious system in which the communities consider the Salawat Nariyah as a means to bring them closer with God to seek protection, but at the same time, the Salawat Nariyah is considered as magic to protect them from evil spirits.

Keywords

Salawat Nariyah; traditional Muslim; Javanese culture, Islamic traditions

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Introduction

Salawat has become the ritual practice of the Muslim community in both Indonesian urban and rural. In this study, Salawat is understood as prayer or call to Allah with words that have the intention to seek blessings from Allah SWT, which includes statements and hopes to be prosperous, lucky, healthy, and safe in the world and hereafter (Anggitya & Else, 2019). Muslim communities believe that Salawat is a form of worship that is the most important and had the most rewards because it can provide sustenance and protection. Previously, Salawat is only practiced by numerous organized and strong religious groups with complicated rules in urban and rural areas. However, currently Indonesian Muslims can practice Salawat praying without necessarily being members of certain unique groups. There are a number of Salawat in Indonesia, such as Salawat Badar, Salawat Fatih, Salawat Nariyah, Salawat Maturah, Salawat Mukafaah, Salawat Ibrahimiyah, and Salawat Nur Al-Anwar (Zamhari, 2013). From those types, Salawat Nariyah¹ is the most popular within the traditional Muslim community because it is believed that the salawat Nariyah can protect Muslims from catastrophe and reduce tension among society (Ngadimah, 2018). Islamic boarding schools, through their leaders and alumni networks, have been disseminating the Salawat Nariyah throughout Indonesia. The Salawat has been essential in facilitating the proliferation of religiosity and solidarity among the society. Within the Indonesian traditional Muslim community, Salawat Nariyah has also emerged as a socio-religious phenomenon affecting the community's socio-religious life. This was proven by the fact that Salawat has been used not only as ritual practices but also as social and cultural activities such as Kembang Endhog customary in Mauludan celebration in Bayuwangi has been functioned as a visualization whose meaning is symbolizing a birth, mutual cooperation, cooperation and gratitude (Dwiyanti & Sunarya, 2019). This shows that, an interesting socio-religious phenomenon presents itself when society considers itself God-fearing and consistent in carrying out its religious duties (Boogert, 2017). As the Muslim community consistently practices religious duties, they feel closely bond with God, and at the same time, they are also closer to each other in daily life. The practice of Salawat in Indonesia has been found to create a sense of identity and belonging and promote a particular vision of religious idealism (Robinson, 2009). The sense of identity and belonging are reflected with characteristics such as a sacred gaze, a simultaneous sense of presence and detachment, and a holistic style of identity management, while religious idealism focus on the spiritual aspect (Davies & Thate, 2017; Suhaim, 2019) Muslim communities of villages in Yogyakarta Indonesia uniquely practice Nariyah Salawat in their daily religious and social moment gathering. The Salawat Nariyah practice is a call for religious recitation to deliver praying for God to protect the community from catastrophe in the world and safety in the hereafter. The Salawat is also practiced to show the traditional Muslim faith values, which plays a vital role in shaping social institutions within the villages community (Buren, Syed, & Mir, 2019). The orientation of the values provides the meaning of the community's life (Kuyateh, 2019). In addition, the Salawat Nariyah values play many religious-social functions and symbolic interaction within the traditional community life. Despite the importance and the uniqueness of Salawat Nariyah practice in socio-religious functions within the traditional Javanese Muslim community, there has been limited attention to the study of the Nariyah Salawat in forming socio-religious functions and symbolic interaction. In response to the problem, this study uses the theoretical perspective of socio-religion to understand the Salawat Nariyah practice within the traditional Muslim community in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. We argue that the Salawat Nariyah practices might serve several functions and symbolic interaction for the traditional Muslim. The aim of this study is to contribute to the understanding of the spiritual and social life of the traditional communities behind the Salawat Nariyah practice. In addition, this study will also discuss how the Salawat Nariyah has provided space for people to deeply experience a new way of encountering peaceful religious and social life.

Theoretical Framework

¹ Nariyah is a Salawat prayer originally composed by Sheikh Nariyah, a friend of Muhammad's Prophet. The Salawat is often recited during group praying time

Several researchers have studied the ways religion affects society, culture, and personality using a socio-religious perspective, and at the same time, researchers also understand the influence of society, culture, and personality on the origin, doctrines, practices, and kinds of religious groups on a religion practice (Yinger, 1957). Socio-religious is understood as the use of sociological perspective to study religions which some experts also say as a sociology of religion (Wach, 2019). The sociology of religion as a theoretical approach emphasizes a market paradigm of religious believers' behavior towards their religious practices (Dillon, 2010). The use of sociological perspective in studying religions helps researchers to enhance understanding regarding spiritual practices according to the specific context of society and its culture. In other words, the study of religions might be started with a fundamental assumption that religions cannot exist as a separate and distinctive unit of society and culture (Scherer, 1982). In this study, socio-religious is used to study the belief, practice, and organizational forms of Islamic Salawat Nariyah using the tools and methods of the discipline of sociology. Through the use of sociological perspectives on religion, we can understand the functions Salawat Nariyah serves, the uniqueness and other values it can reinforce and perpetuate, as well as the role it plays in Islamic daily lives within traditional Javanese Yogyakarta in Indonesia (Mirola, Emerson, & Monahan, 2010). Other scholars also argue that various sociological theories can evaluate the institution of religion because it has been part of every society. Among these theories, functionalism, conflict, and interactions are used to understand the interplay between Salawat Nariyah and Javanese Muslim society. This study is interested in the social impact of Salawat Nariyah as a religious practice on individuals and the institution of Islam (Schaefer, 2009). Functionalism theory argues that religion serves several functions for society (Abbasi & Nik, 2020). The functions include providing meaning and purposes of society life, strengthens social and stability, serving as social control of behavior, promoting psychological well-being, and motivating people to work for positive social change (Johnstone, 2015). The function of religion is felt to increase over time as society maintains and practices the faith in a period. On the other hand, conflict theory argues that religion also reinforces and promotes inequality and social conflict when groups of society are too devout with the religion and have a different point of view regarding religious practices. The different ritual practices might lead to hostility and violence (Koopmans, 2015). Symbolic interactions perspective views individuals as actors who interpret their religious experience. It is argued that beliefs and practices are not sacred except when society regards them as such. In other words, when society regards religion as sacred, they will take on special significance and give meaning to their lives.

Understanding Salawat Nariyah

Salawat refers to the plural form of salat, which means "to call" or prayer. Salawat to the Prophet is to pray to God to send His blessings to the Prophet, who is the messenger of God (Leghaei, 2018). So Salawat is also understood as praises to Prophet Muhammad. Meanwhile, the term Nariyah comes from the name of a Muslim scholar who composed the Salawat Nariyah. The name is Syeck Nariyah, who lives in the Muhammad prophet period. One night he recited Salawat 4.444 times to pray for the safety and well-being of the Prophet, and then he got a blessing from God (Kristina, 2021; Mustinda, 2020). In the following period, Salawat Nariyah becomes popular, and it was spread across Muslim society in the world. Salawat Nariyah can be recited individually or in a congregation, but mostly it recites in a congregation in particular when it is intended to celebrate certain cultural ceremonies (Holidi & Surur, 2019). Salawat Nariyah in rural areas is generally initiated by a community group (e.g. Majelis Taklim), a non-formal institution that functions as the center of Islamic learning for the community (Zamhari, 2013). Muslims believe that reciting Salawat Nariyah can get the most rewards. The Salawat Nariyah provides sustenance and protection because it is considered the same as praying to God and showing love to the prophets (Anggitya & Else, 2019). Salawat Nariyah can also be functioned as a prevention against fundamentalism (Abdalla, 2016) and increase silaturahmi connection (solidarity and friendship) among the Muslim community (Warisno, 2017). The book Afdlal al-shalawāt explains that the text of the Salawat Nāriyah prayer was improved by a Sufism teacher named Sheikh Mohammad Haqi Afandi al-Nāzily (Abdurahman, 2018; Ni'mah, 2020). In his book, Sheikh Mohammad Afandi Al_nazily explains how to recite Salawat Tafrijiyah (another name for Nariyah) and the meaning of the principles inside the Salawat. As an example, whoever routinely recite Salawat Nariyah 141 times or more, then Allah removes his grief, eases his affairs, enlightens his heart, raises his position, expands his fortune, and opens for him the door to goodness and beyond. Salawat Nariyah

recitation is also believed can prevent the world's calamities, hunger, and poverty (Rubaidi, 2020).

Method

A qualitative case study method (Yin, 2003) was chosen to study the practice of Salawat Nariyah within the traditional Muslim community. The data was collected through two rounds of focus group discussion and in-depth interviews with 10 participants. We used semi-structured interviews, which lasted between 45 minutes to one hour. All interviews transcripts were sent back to the participants for final confirmation. We also conducted three months of observation and direct involvement in the Salawat Nariyah practices in the villages. The data analyses broadly followed the coding method outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1998) in that the data analysis was carried out through iterations; open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. In our coding, we used a framework-guided coding technique (Sarker, Xiao, & Beaulieu, 2013). We relied on our theoretical constructs built from socio-religious perspectives when we coded the data. However, we were also open to the emergence of a new construct found during the coding process. In the first iteration, we coded into a broad range of categories based on the research problems and the literature review constructs. In the next iteration, axial coding was carried out by making connections between categories and codes (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). In this stage, categories from the open coding were refined to a smaller number to identify the Salawat Nariyah functions from the traditional Muslim community in the data and find new categories from the open coding. In the third iteration, selective coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) assisted us with an in-depth examination of the second stage categories by refining their meanings and articulating relationships among them to enable theoretical categories that informed the findings of the research and contributed to outcomes which resulted in establishing our theoretical perspectives. Conceptual saturation was reached when no new categories were generated from the open codes, and the gap in emerging concepts was filled (Kendall, 1999). The data transcripts were in Indonesian and were not translated but analyzed in Indonesian to maintain original meaning and sense. However, the quotes were translated into English when they were used in the paper. We used the parallel translation format (Nikander, 2002) in which the data is presented in side-by-side columns when the quotes were translated. The quotes were transferred to a table, and they were also translated into English. The translation was verified with the Indonesian quotes and with the context where the codes came from (full transcription texts). This was intended to prevent mistranslation of the quotes as well as preserve meaning and sense.

Result and Discussion

In this section, we will present and discuss our findings base on our data analysis. The presentation and discussion of the results based on themes emerged from the data using Strauss and Corbin (2003) data analysis approach. We found five themes were emerged and present them in the following sub-sections.

The Social Function of Salawat Nāriyah

The traditional Javanese Muslim communities are civilized society with a rich traditional culture from the socio-cultural perspective. Islam came to the Java Island to complete their journey towards religious perfection. Salawat Nāriahan recitation at the beginning was intended to fulfill their religious needs. However, in later time the function of Salawat Nariyah seems to have moved more on the social functions of the community through the performing the social activities wrapped with an Islamic prayer. For example, some sociological and psychological needs of the community, such as security, protection, self-confidence, and concern, have become the focus of Salawat Nariyah practice. The nāriyahan² culture is seen as a supplement of Islamic religiosity that enriches other efforts to achieve well-being and security of individuals and the community. The well-being includes social interaction, a closer social community bond, and protection from each other from social threats. The community also believe that the Salawat Nariyah would protect them from the calamity caused by radicalism and other violence. The regular practice of

² Nariyahan is a group of people or individuals who practice and involve in Salawat Nariyah activities

Salawat Nariyah will receive God's protection (Koenig, 2012). For example, a participant said: I regularly practice Salawat Nariyah with my neighborhood because it makes me closer and feels like a big family. It is not about Islamic religiosity only. The more often we meet together to practice Nariyah Salawat, the more secure we feel. If only we think about religious practice only, we can do it by our self at home. I believe social tightness is more important than the religious function of the Salawat Nariyah practice. The social function of religious activities has been addressed in previous studies (e.g: Branco, 2007; Heydari-Fard et al., 2014). For example, religious practice can increase community social health and social solidarity. However, in this study, we found that the Javanese Muslim traditional community has focused more on the social function of Salawat Nariyah rather than religious spirituality. Even though they argue that the Salawat Nariyah can make them closer to God, their argument is a prerequisite by social function such as social ties and solidarity. A participant said as follows: For me, the most crucial element in Salawat Nariyah is not the recitation of the Salawat only, but also the food that is served to those taking part in this rite or the chats that usually follow the completion of this rite. They are, of course, important elements in a Salawat Nariyah, especially in the framework of strengthening social relations. More often, the Salawat Nariyah is held on Friday night when a meeting of the neighborhood association is also held in that night. The recitation of Salawat Nariyah is usually followed by other events such as the leader of neighborhood speech, religious speech or dakwah), and finally eating foods. From the social perspective, Salawat Nariyah practice has a positive impact and contributes to achieving social welfare among the community. According to participants, the Salawat Nariyah created a feeling of inner peace, enhancing better psychological-emotional among the community. Pengestu & Anwar (2019) argue that inner peace is a positive spiritual soul caused by reciting the Salawat. Hussein (2016) also report that Salawat constructs the positive psychological, interactional, emotional, behavioral, imaginative and perceptual dimension of spirituality. As such relationship among the rural community is strengthened, and they tend to be closer in a social system. As the community relationship is positive, the government at the village level uses the Salawat recitation moment to discuss issues outside of religious practices such as security, community service, counseling, and development planning. A preacher also uses the moment to deliver the religious speech, which is usually wrapped with government campaigns on certain issues related to government interest. As such, Salawat Nariyah is about spiritual practices, and social and cultural functions to make Muslim society get a wider social benefit.

The Association of Nāriyah Salawat Practice with the Traditional Javanese Culture

The practice of Salawat Nariyah has become the tradition of Muslims within Javanese villages for a long period. The traditional Muslim community views Salawat Nāriyah practices as part of Javanese traditional culture. In other words, the practice of Salawat Nariyah is the integration of religious and cultural practices. We argue that the phenomenon has become a habit that is difficult to change (Swidler, 1986). The phenomena reflect the Salawat Nariyah practice connection with Javanese culture due to continual practice within the traditional community. The traditional community is continuing to recite the Salawat Nāriyah together with cultural events celebrations. The traditional Muslims inherited the mixing practices of Salawat Nariyah and local cultural events for generations as a Javanese tradition identity (Abdullahi, 1987). The strong connection of Salawat Nariyah and local culture is reflected in the following comment as follows: We have practiced Salawat Nariyah for a long time. We don't see the Salawat Nariyah as a religious practice only, but we also see the practice of Salawat Nariyah as our local culture characteristic. Even non-Muslim sometimes help us with providing foods when we recite the Salawat Nariyah" In Indonesia, there are many places where praying, similar to Salawat Nariyah, is practiced by religions other than Islam. In particular, such praying adheres to the real world life that associates with society and its environment. For example, Hindu also recites praying in groups inherited from an earlier period before Islam came to Indonesia. Javanese people had adopted the Hindu religion before Islam arrived in Indonesia. It is merely a form of accommodating the past into the present. As such Islamic, as a new religion in Indonesia compared to other religions which came earlier, has been blunted and deflected into Hinduism, Buddhism, and animism that has fascinated Indonesians for almost fifteen centuries (Abdullah & Wekke, 2018). Geertz (1971) argues that Javanese society practices Islam abangan which its characteristics are accommodating party celebration or Selamatan, complex belief to spirits, and traditional magic medication. In other words, religion is practiced integrally with cultural habits which have been inherited from their ancestor. Islam spread peacefully in almost all parts of Indonesia in a period of approximately

300 years, and it has dominated Java at the end of the sixteenth century (Nurdin & Maddini, 2018; Rasyid & Nurdin, 2021). However, some of Islam's characteristics were cut off from its origin in Mecca and the Middle East. In Indonesia, Islam gets a new character that has been assimilated and infiltrated with Javanese culture. The Javanese culture is considered to have been mixed with Hinduism, Buddhism, and animism tradition. As such, the traditional Javanese Muslim who practices Salawat Nāriyah also mixed the Salawat Nariyah with Hinduism, Buddhism, and animism values. For example, the burning of incense and foods offer is typical of the ancient practice of Hinduism, Buddhism, and animism. When the village salvation ritual is considered a Javanese tradition, then the practice is inherited from old-fashioned beliefs of Hinduism, Buddhism, and animism. Therefore, Muslim societies that practice nāriyahan are part of those legacies. Muslim communities who actively follow the tradition of village salvation through Salawat Nariyah are considered involved in old-fashioned Hinduism, Buddhism, and animism tradition. One member of the Salawat Nāriyah group said that the Muslim community in a Javanese village adhere to the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah³, but they practice the Hinduism mixed ceremonies. When pure Islam is often associated with Santri⁴, then Muslims who practice Salawat Nariyah can be deemed to have abandoned pure Islam (Rahman, 2017). In other words, they are no longer in pure Islam teaching. Instead, they have practice cultural mixed Islam (Rubaidi, 2019; Susilo & Syato, 2016). This kind of Islam is often called as "Islam abangan" which refers to non-standard Islam (Hefner, 2011). The community claims they are true Muslims but prioritizing cultural and social than Islamic teaching in religious practice. Nariyah Salawat is Islamic spiritual practice, but it shows more social and cultural practice rather than religious rituals.

The connection binding Salawat Nāriyah groups to the Religious System

Our study found that there is a strong connection of Salawat Nāriyah prayers with the religious system. In our study, the Nariyah prayers view Islam as a religion that also focuses on lived practices rather than primarily on textual doctrines. In other words, the traditional Muslim community believes that religion means belief in the existence of supernatural powers over humans and their beliefs as well as an institution that supports their live social practices (Eyghen, 2019). As such, the connection of Nariyah prayers with the religious system can be interpreted as a principle or theory in a belief or religion. The findings are consistent with Guthrie (1996) and Henkin (1998), who argue that each religion is a system consisting of components that cause humans to be religious. The system also includes human beliefs about God and their attributes, supernatural being and nature, all values and norms of the religious teachings concerned, the rite system and ceremonies in which humans seek relationships with God or other spirits, and the social practices that embrace their religion (Kay et al., 2010). For example, a Nariyah prayer said: This (Nariyah) isn't a mantra. This is a prayer from Islam,' I said like that. But when someone got sick, we recite Salawat Nariyah as a medication. He recovered after we recited Salawat Nariyah every night forty-one times, for almost one hour every session. So we believe that Salawat Nariyah is a holy recitation but also as a medication." The participant comment reflects a strong connection of Salawat Nariyah practice as religious praying and as a tool for a social function, which is used to cure sickness. If the Salawat Nariyah groups are connected with the religious system, their social life is also connected with the religious system. The belief that recitation of the Salawat Nariyah can cure them of sickness can be considered as the cultural shaping of psychotic experience, healing resources, and what these suggest about Javanese cultural psychology and subjectivity. (Good, Subandi, & Good, 2007). However, such experience is supported by the connection of Salawat Nariyah with Islam's religious systems.

Salawat Nāriyah and connections to Village Salvation

The connection between Salawat Nariyah and village's salvation is shown through a collective recitation of the Salawat with the intention to prevent villages from natural disasters and other calamities. The Salawat Nariyah recitation was performed together with kenduri⁵ where people eat foods and pray together. Another word of salvation is selamatan (safey), a good tradition

³ Pure Islam inherited from Muhammad prophet

⁴ Muslims who study Islam in a boarding school and are considered to practice pure Islam

⁵ Kenduri is religious food eating party that means eating foods while praying

about praying attitude to God, followed by a traditional ceremony based on the Javanese ancestral heritage (Mindarnengsih, 2019). Finally, the salvation of villages and their communities is the prevention of calamity and violence that might be caused by nature or humans, such as radicalism and war (Baidowi et al., 2021). Village salvation in this study was reflected in every moment of Salawat Nariyah recitation during the kenduri or selamatan moment. The selamatan or kenduri has been rooted in the Javanese traditional community in an earlier time before Islam came to Java Island. Prior to the arrival of Islam, the kenduri had been the practice to maintain the Javanese community's peaceful life. However, at that time, during the kenduri moment, Hinduism mantra was read. After the arrival of Islam, the mantra was replaced with Islamic praying such as Salawat Nariyah. As such, the recitation of Salawat Nariyah has strongly been connected with villages' salvation in traditional Muslim communities because they have been immersed with such religious praying for a long time. For example, a Muslim said: We have been very familiar with such religious praying (Nariyah Salawat) because we inherited collective praying from our ancestors to ensure our village's safety. Our ancestors believed that collective praying of Salawat Nariyah recitation could save our villages from natural or social calamity. Through the Salawat Nariyah, we emotionally close each other, and it reduces tension among us. The participant comment reflects the Nariyah Salawat is inseparable from the traditional Muslim communities' efforts to create peaceful villages. The selamatan is a simple ceremony involving eating food together to thank to God for His blessing and protection of the community live. Such ceremony often represents mystical symbolizing, religious practice, and social unity (Woodward, 1988). The selamatan practiced by the villages' community mixed Hinduism and Islamic values together because the food serving is resemble to Hinduism practice. The term selamatan was popularly used by villagers in 1979 to reflect villages' salvation ceremony involving the Muslim community and other religious communities with different beliefs on saving the villages and their people (Abidatin, 2015). There are different types of village salvation activities carried out by Muslim communities. Other than selamatan there are Muludan, Suran, and Ruwah which are celebrated in different moments. For example, Mauludan is practiced to celebrate Muhammad's birthday, Suran is practiced to celebrate the Islamic New Year, and Ruwah expresses gratitude toward cleansing the village and for mental preparation in welcoming Ramadan month. Even though the celebrations are practiced in different moments, the ultimate intention is to seek protection from God and to prevent social violence. A member of salawat Nariyah said: It is a ritual action that forms social attitudes that we really need at present, at a time when religious fundamentalism is wreaking the world of Islam. These attitudes cover many things, such as an appreciation of history, local culture, and arts, not easily labeling others as infidels, not easily accusing others of idolatry, being tolerant, and much more. Nariyah Salawat is possibly a preventive cure against social conflicts and fundamentalism and seeks God's protection. Maybe, Because I rarely see practitioners of Salawat Nariyah being involved in fundamentalist religious movements. The participant comment shows that Salawat Nariyah in a salvation ceremony has increased social bond between the rural Muslims community. The change of religious ceremony from spiritual to social functions has been addressed by Al-Saadi (2016). The change is caused by the need of its believers to fulfill their social needs in their life rather than simply fulfilling the spiritual obligation. As a result, the social and cultural needs increase their awareness regarding the importance of security and harmony of life between the community obtained from the ceremonies (Magni, 2017). More importantly, the social and cultural needs also increase trust among the traditional communities regarding the importance of collective security rather than merely collective religiosity.

There is also special Salawat Nâriyah with specific Functions

The finding shows that Salawat Nariyah has also functioned as a medication ritual. Apart from the routine activities of the Nâriyah every Friday night, the Salawat Nariyah has been practiced individually or by family to cure a particular illness which is considered related to an evil spirit or black magic. The Salawat is also used to resolve social conflicts such as arranged marriages, work conflicts, politics, and other conflicts within the villages. Such Salawat Nariyah usually only involves immediate family members. However, in other events, such as when Muslims want to perform the Hajj, build a house, occupy a new house or a public building, and recovering from calamity, then the Salawat Nariyah recitation is practiced in a larger group. A specific function of the Salawat is expressed by a participant as follows:

"The Nariyah Salawat also has a more specific function for us which sometimes we recite it in our family to cure illness if we could not afford to go the hospital or cure an illness caused by an evil spirit or black magic. However, we recite the Nariyah Salawat with the whole Muslim village's members when building a public building or to recover from a disaster such as a long drought or flood. So the practice has been passed on from generation to generation in our village".

The participant comment reflects the Salawat Nāriyah has extended functions. When we consider the Salawat Nariyah as cultural activities, such cultural definitions of health, healing, and illness and specific cultural practices are likely to significantly impact various aspects of treatment, compliance, and interaction effects (Todd-Bazemore, 1999). This means the Salawat Nariyah not only embodies the most important system of religious belief of the Javanese culture but also carries the experience of the traditional Javanese community as to ways of dealing with illness and alleviating pain (Yanji, 2014). Yanji (2014) gives an example of Yi people practice medical treatment in Nousu group in China, where cultural and religious values were used as a treatment to cure illness. Another specific function of Salawat Nariyah, which is related to the mystical issue, is the use of Salawat Nariyah as a remembrance of a pass away community member. Through the Salawat Nariyah practice, communities try to gain old memory with someone who is passing away. For example, a participant said as follows: In my opinion, the most important element in Salawat Nariyah is memory. The Salawat Nariyah is a social rite that has "remembering" as its principal foundation. This memory is oriented towards things that have happened in the past; The memory is also aimed at people who have already passed away. In other words, Salawat Nariyah is, in essence, "memorizing the absent", remembering something that is no longer there, or in a more abstract way, it is "memorizing the absence." Therefore, sending prayers through the Salawat Nariyah ritual holds important meaning to those who have already passed away. It is not merely a benevolent act towards those who have already passed away, but it is to memorize something that has happened in the past. The participant views the Salawat Nariyah practice as a moment to spend time with people to remember the dead one. Vale-Taylor (2009) argues that such ritual moments are a reason to seek "manufacture reasons" to get together with others to allow them to talk to remember their lost family members. Such gathering is also usually used to discuss good things about the dead one, and the Salawat Nariyah can purify the sin of the dead one. Salawat Nariyah is also functioned similarly to magic to seek protection or to save certain events. For example, Salawat Nariyah is believed can protect a building from evil spirits. Therefore, the Salawat is often recited when the community builds a building such as houses and public buildings (Sartini, Ahimsa-Putra, & Makin, 2016). In this context, the function of the practice of Salawat seems to have contradicted with Islamic values which the primary function of Salawat is to obtain a blessing from God. Meanwhile, when it is used as magic to combat evil spirits, the community has forgotten God's protection as they expected from the Salawat recitation purposes. In other words, the organizers of Salawat Nariyah recitation have played roles as Salawat mafia (Ngadimah, 2018), which means the community uses Salawat for purposes other than spiritual functions.

Conclusions

Our study found that Salawat Nariyah, as an Islamic ritual practice, has been mixed with Hinduism, Buddhism, animism traditions. In addition, the function of the Islamic Salawat has concern more on cultural and social dimension in which the Javanese communities use the Salawat Nariyah practice as a moment to increase social cohesion, medication, and mysticism. On one side, the community practices the Salawat as Islamic teaching to increase religiosity. On the other hand, they are tolerant of including their traditional social and cultural values in their religious practices. The implication of this study is that the practice of Salawat Nariyah might no longer be in a standard with Islamic ritual as it came from Arab countries, but their tolerance to other values from their own culture has made Islam in Indonesia more moderate compared to Islam where it came from. As a result, Islam in Indonesia is well-known as a more moderate Islam globally, which tolerates minor changes and cultural adaption in their practices.

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