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Indonesian Muslims' Reception toward *Wirid, Zikr* and *Shalawat* during Covid-19 Outbreak; A Mediated Living Hadith

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Abstract

This research studies *du'a* (*wirid, zikr* and *shalawat*) that has been practised by Indonesian Muslim to show their response toward Covid-19 outbreak. Using two techniques: survey and interview, this research highlights two model of receptions in living and hadith to understand the practice of *du'a*. While many consider public ignorance, this research focuses on personal awareness toward the shift of religious gathering (*jama'ah*) during the quarantine days and their perception of internet-mediated religiosity at the meantime. The result says that the respondents confirm the variability of *wirid, zikr, shalawat*, such as *li khamsatun*, *shalawat tibbil qulub* and *doa pagi dan petang*. However, their engagement with the internet does not parallel to their authority preference; most of the respondents prefer to grasp *ijazah* (formally transmission) from the closest family and the surrounded ulama network. A contrasting idea is also seen, as they emphasize face-to face *ijazah* for their own personal matter, some allow others to take the *ijazah* digitally.

Abstrak

Riset ini mempelajari doa harian (*wirid, zikr* dan *shalawat*) yang dipraktikkan oleh masyarakat Muslim Indonesia yang tinggal di seluruh dunia sebagai cara mereka merespons situasi Covid-19. Dengan menggunakan survey dan wawancara, riset ini menegaskan kedua model resepsi Quran dan Hadis untuk memahami praktik doa. Sementara riset terdahulu menyebutkan besarnya rasa ketidakpedulian masyarakat Muslim Indonesia sebagai reaksi utama atas pandemi, riset ini lebih memfokuskan pada respons personal atas retaknya perilaku beribadah secara berjamaah selama hari-hari karantina. Hasil riset menunjukan populernya variasi doa, seperti doa pagi dan petang,

shalawat *li khamsatun*, dan *shalawat tibbil qulub*. Namun, keterlibatan para responden dengan internet tidaklah paralel dengan preferensi otoritas keagamaan, umumnya responden lebih memilih mendapatkan *ijazah* dari orang-orang terdekat dan jaringan ulama terdekat. Pandangan yang kontras juga terlihat, sementara para responden memilih untuk mendapatkan ijazah secara langsung, mereka memperbolehkan orang lain untuk mendapatkannya melalui media digital.

Introduction

The unexpected appearance of Covid-19 around the world (2020) has raised anxiety and change people's behaviour, among others are religious people. Some research recognizes people changing behaviour, such as Campbell (2020, 6) who begin with identifying the challenges that religious institution and communities are facing during the pandemic situation. He realizes the shifting religious structure affect how the devoted experience both ritual and spiritual life, which may cause either social religious disruption or communities -physical and spiritual- transformation. Dein et al. (2020) exemplify that religious gatherings and congregations are among the actual practice, which is affected by the current plague. Inline to the decline of physical connectedness, more theological reasoning has been threatened, as religious communities split up into two believes; those who think Covid-19 is a punishment for inadequate religious observance and the more adaptive view. To put in a nutshell, religious communities become one of the struture of society affected by the sudden Covid-19 pandemic that changes over some basic formations, such as religious gatherings and religious behaviour.

As the above condition occurs around the world regardless of any religions, public ignorance expands among Indonesian, which can be addressed from two interrelated aspects: media reports and Muslims related

behaviour. The massive internet newscast turns out into rumour, into a crowd where public encounter uncertain information that particularly leads to public behaviour, that is ignorance to the current plague. Kosasih et al. (2020) find the unconstructive impact of the internet and social media during the spread of Covid-19. Their study on media content exemplifies a lack of credible news about Covid-19 that is widely circulated and accessed by the public. In addition, Mietzner (2020, 244) analyses wider perspective from the process of democratization, concludes that the act of disregard toward the recent condition was a result of manifold aspects, to mention some are the rise of populist anti-scientism and religious conservatism and religio-political polarisation that rise since the era of Jokowi. Both opinions might be best examined with the recent survey conducted by Kuipers, Mujani, and Pepinsky (2020, 10). The result is less surprising, as public health messaging is ineffective to change Indonesians' attitudes toward restrictions on communal prayer or their willingness to forgo communal prayer during the Covid-19 pandemic. Another result, also confirms Mietzner opinion, where public disregard to avoid the congregation is higher among Muslims, contradict to that of non-Muslims and supporters of the president.

Nonetheless, Mietzner and Kuipers. et. al seem reasonable to explain the situation, as Indonesian political sphere has polarized, public response and behaviour toward Covid-19 even emphazise the divergence. But, such analysis failed to explain changing internal aspects dynamic of underlying behind the behavior. Apart from both media report and the latest survey, a psychological stance of the "backwardism" is explained by Buana (2020). He mentions about cognitive bias, where people self-confidently believe about the virus, in fact, they are not. Caused by the lack of literacy, this behavior can be seen through the act when someone believes that he/she know for sure can handle the infection. A deeper understanding of the dynamic stance from "backwardism" is exemplified by Maliki (2020, 84).

Seeing the fact as a discursive condition, Maliki argues that such behavior stands on the basis of conflictual typology between science and religion. For ignorance standpoint, a fact that sciences ground on secular logic and objectivity, is nothing more than, to support of global capitalism. This positivistic point of view has disregarded many local and seems unreasonable beliefs and practice. The doctrine that science is objective was instrumentally seen, by this group of anti-scientism, as a destructive move for human being and nature. Their act, according to Maliki is a way express a resistance, and part of negotiation to use religion as both *ageman* (bulletproof) and *gaman* (weapons) from the powerful dominance, global capitalism. That is the reason why messages from authorities to stay away from religious congregation get more difficult for religions oriented around shared rituals, symbols, sacred sites, and collective devotion.

As Campbell (2020, 8) mentions two potential conditions of religions in quarantine, some actors of Indonesian Muslim decide to adopt a possible transform of social order. The latest actors did not remain in silent, but accommodatively see health messages as a momentum to re-view religious principles, particularly related to daily hadith-inspired *ibadah*. Despite the result of Kuipers et. al survey about the ineffectiveness of messages from both health and religious authorities, research has detailed the religious bodies response that generally can be classified into two categories, those who introduce externalization of hadith doctrine on the one hand, and those who propose a more abstract approach on the other hand. The first category consists of research that accentuates attempts to eliminate the terrible plague's effect. Aula (2020, 144) mentions the role of religious leaders as part of medium to further preach the health messages, as both exemplar and supporter of health messages. Likewise, Suherdiana, Ridwan, and Fatoni (2020, 1) observe the *dakwah* content of four biggest Indonesian Muslim organizations: *Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, *Nahdhatul Ulama*, *Persatuan Islam*, and *Al-Washliyah*; found that their

dakwah comprises *aqidah* opinion, organisation appeals, activities, and legal religious pronouncements (*fatwa*) relating to stop the spread and reduce the infection among their members. The second category refers to hadith and any related literature on the previous pandemic time, which may be a lesson and inspiration for current situation. Mukharom and Aravik (2020) study on the history of the prophet (*asbabul wurudil hadith*), and argue that the coronavirus outbreak is as equally danger as mass bubonic and leprosy plague in the time of the Prophet Muhammad. The best action to take is to quarantine ourselves. Likewise, Mardiana and Darmalaksana (2020, 16), interpret a series of *syahid ma'nawi* hadith (hadith which functions to strengthen other hadith in term of its meaning, and not in terms of words order) related to the infectious situation, so the study suggests to use the hadith as inspirations of guidance during the quarantine. In addition, a more contextual approach to the gist of hadith (*matn*) is also applied by Arifin et. al (2020) to show a procedure for self-protection during Covid-19 quarantine days, based on their reading on many authentic hadith. Inline to the spirit of transforming a more Covid-19 friendly perspective, Sari and Wahid (2020) promote an adaptive approach to the Covid-19 funeral procedures, and advocate that the existed procedures by the medical workers do not violate the existed religious procedures. A historical resource is also explored by this group of researchers, particularly to inquire as much as possible any information on the previous plagues that had been hitting Muslim society. A work by Qudsy and Sholahuddin (2020) is among the comprehensive study to the work of 15th century Muslim scholar, Ibn Hajar al-Asqalany who has recorded the Black Death plague experience, both from empirical as well as scientific point of view. Another research, which is conducted by Zuhri (2020), focusess on the *hizb Li khamsatun*, a thariqah Shadhiliyah du'a recited to prevent from infections. The *hizb* has been rising its popularity during the Covid-19 quarantine days. The result of this hermeneutical

study says that for Muslim society who may see that both rational and health procedures less than enough to face the sudden pandemic, an action to reviving religious poets such as *Li khamsatun* -almost five times a day in the mosques- shows their response to the release anxiety.

Arguably, the first group of research focuses on religious communities which mostly refer to anti-scientism, view religion and science as two conflicted areas. I argue this perspective tries to understand the reason behind the act of 'ignorance' from the perspective of the actors. This group of research may successful to capture current condition, but failed to see the dynamic process of coping experience, Indonesian Muslim society try to cope with the pandemic. Also, describing the configuration of the populist anti-scientism group is somehow unproductive, since the group perspective always exists, as Maliki (2020, 66) reminds about the conservative group who identical with anti-scientism, anti-global warming, as well as anti-vaccine. The second group of research may belong to the adaptive religious view of the Covid-19. But, as it relies mostly on literature basis, it depends on historical record that lack of recent narrative, particularly on Muslims' society's attempt to perform the textual guidance. The fact that the suggestion they have made on the reinterpretation of hadith is compelling, it is worth to ask, how the step is applied by Muslim society in Indonesia?

Thus, to answer such a question, this study tries to stand from the perspective of adaptive side. Covid-19 is a momentum where religious structure and reasoning need to reflect more on its fundamental spirit, that is to transform humanity. Practically, this perspective underlines the applicability of living hadith research to study further how Muslims society tries to internalize religious and health authorities' messages during the Covid-19 quarantine days. The step of research includes a description of Muslim individuals' attempt to pray for a personal matter. Apart from its possibility to conduct a study of living hadith during the quarantine

days, this research makes use of contemporary mediated religious life, to further know the intensity and reason why Indonesian Muslim practice various rituals to prevent themselves from the infection. At the time when mediated spiritual practice benefits digital fact, the spiritual devotion lingers to internet access. Both are real lives that constitute the ritual practice in the time of pandemic situation (Campbell 2020). This research, then, focuses more on personal experience during the quarantine days, compiling Indonesian Muslims' attempt to perform their personal *Wirid*, *Zikr* and *ṣalawāt* as part of their wellbeing support.

In a normal situation, observation technique requires researchers *in situ*, where they open an intense rapport with the subjects of research. This passionate interaction may now be mediated through internet platforms, such as social media. This research pays full attentiveness to the Covid-19 health protocol, uses google form to collect data on muslims self-preferable rituals during quarantine time. The rituals refer to *du'a* {prayer} that is initially performed individually. This du'a includes *shalawat, hizb* and *wirid* undertaken to calm themselves as part of individual efforts to avoid the attack of Covid-19. The survey was conducted for a month, 15 April – 10 May 2020, the total respondents are 111 Indonesian Muslims, living both in Indonesia and overseas with differences in gender, age, educational background and religious affiliation were neglected as main variables. In contrast, their intense interaction with the internet and social media is considered as the primary characteristic of the respondents, making it possible for them to access messages from both government and religious leaders.

As this research relies on the survey as the first method of gathering data, other attempts are conducted as a triangulator of the first method (Flick 2018). The questions in the study include respondents' private *du'a* which is addressed personally to avoid the spread of Covid-19, the intensity and virtuosity knowledge {*fadlilah*} on reciting such *du'a*, their

preference on the authority of such practice {*ijazah*}, and their idea of internet-mediated *ijazah*. Apart from the survey, this research utilizes general portrait of muslims access to various *du'a* on the internet, assuming the respondents are actively seeking access to the internet {or social media platform} to find out messages from the authorities. The latter step is deemed essential to link the personal practices carried out by respondents and the comprehensive picture that occurs in the virtual world, that acts as the structure in which particular action is considered make sense.

Both virtual survey and observation deserved to be questioned for the study of living hadith, particularly in ethnographical technique, due to the problem of reliability. It is possible to examine the gap between the researcher and the respondents that internet has changed the interaction where hadith-inspired daily action and attitude are both constructed and reconstructed, either in individual or social level (Zuhri and Dewi 2018). As a consequent, it is very likely to doubt whether the respondents carry out the *du'a* practice, a routine prayer that mostly happened in the most private area. However, the quarantine phase has invoked other possibilities that previously overlooked. It is Lanette (2019) who introduces an innovator understanding by addressing the role of the informant of research as 'Knowledge Holder'. The informants are the ones who own the knowledge, so it is supposed that research is a Collaboratory activity. This research considers the perspective is vital in the time of quarantine and sees that as the context changes, and so does the research space. In doing so, a mediated interview is taken during April to August 2020, to support the above methods. Five among respondents are selected to join interview through *whatsapp,* to further know about their *du'a* activity, the shalawat they read, the intensity, preference of *ijazah* also their possible involvement on online religious gathering during the outbreak time.

Furthermore, here is the illustration of the detail of the respondents. The survey was randomly spread for a month from April to May 2020.

Total of the respondents is 111, as pictured on the Table1, all of them are Indonesian Muslims who live in various area, consist of 23 respondents lives in East Java, 17 in Central Java, 19 stay at West Java and Banten Province, 15 in Jogja, 10 in Jakarta. While each of Sumatra and Celebes represented by seven residents, four respondents represent Borneo, nine of them in Overseas-quarantine during the lockdown time. Table 2 explains the gender distribution, while female comprises 46 respondents {41.4 %}, male are 65 respondents {58.6%}. As the survey was spread randomly, that is the ages distribution {Picture 3}. Most of the respondents are in the range of 18 – 27 years old {37.2%}, with the least respondents {17%} are older than 48 years old.
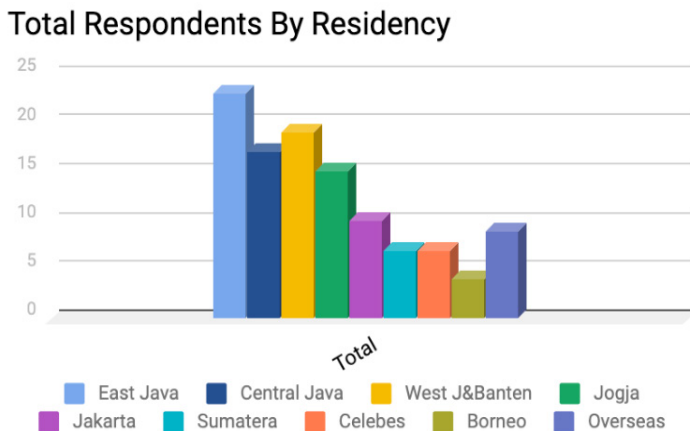
Table 1: Total Respondents by Residency

1. Gender
111 responses
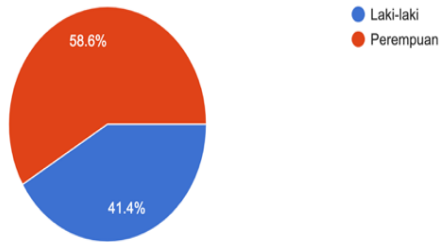
Table 2: Percentage of the respondents by Gender

3. Age
113 responses
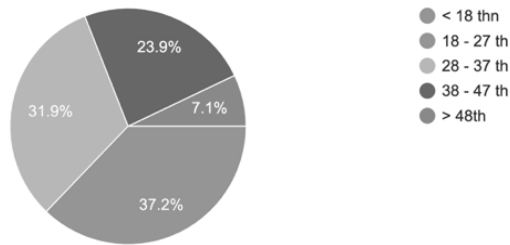
Pict 3: Percentage of Respondents by Ages

In sum, this research is conducted during quarantine days, involves respondent's daily activity may against health protocol. However, due to cruciality of capturing personal attempts during that time, this research relies on the survey to the 111 Indonesian Muslim spread in Indonesian islands and overseas, as the first method of gathering data. In order to triangulate such method, both media trend report and online interview support the first mentioned-method. The later include series of variables, those are the media report on the most popular *du'a* and personal preferences on three aspects: preferred *du'a, ijazah*, and their involvement in internet mediated gathering

Hadith as a Normative Conduct in the Pandemic Situation.

The Quran and Hadith provide a grand scheme in which Muslim community bases their routine practice including the pandemic context. As the normative conduct, the grand scheme operates as information sources for two aspects: *first*, what the first Muslim community and react to the pandemic condition. *Second*, how muslim scholars interpret the source in order to re-operate for their context. Sheikh Ibn Hajar Al Asqalany (Al-Asqalany 1991) described the mourning of the Black Death in the 14th century, caused by the Yersinia Pestis bacterium. The severe contagion had even leaved an estimated 25 million dead in its wake. He reported that the Ulama suggestion on *sholat jamaah* had made the contagion in more severe, yet their attempt to popularize Qunut nazilah during the outbreak serves today's lesson (Qudsy and Sholahuddin 2020). Another example is Hadith Ka'ab ibn 'Amru' on prayer to avoid illness (Al Sijistani 1424 H, hadith number 1554) can be exemplified as the second attempt. Both examples give reasons that hadith and the *syarah* books are used both as source to refer to the pandemic situation dates back to the Prophet time and the following years. In addition, the literature also gives suggestions how to behave during the pandemic situation. While many works of recent scholars such as Darmalaksana (2020a, 2020b) Qudsy, (2020), and Zuhri (2020) try to review the classical works on such guidance and suggestions, their effort might be the basis of Muslim society's attempt to support their adjustment faithfully. In sum, Muslim society at large, will always base their religious experiences on very specific order given by the Prophet and classical ulama, that is objectified by recent religious leaders through prayers.

Interestingly, the variety of prayers can be based on two patterns: first the scholars carry out an atomistic understanding of the verse or Hadith {textual}; second, the functional reception of Quran and Hadith (Rafiq 2004). As both of patterns share their internal configurations, they

vary in some distinctive forms. The first reading, that is atomistic reading toward Quran and Hadith relies firmly onto literal-understanding of *ayah-al-Quran* and *Matn-al-Hadits*, in accordance to their adage "to refer to Quran and Sunnah" and rarely to focus on the interrelation of *ayat* with *surah,* as well as the general and contextual base of an ayat. In compare to hadith studies, the literal-understanding of a *matn* considers the text to function as performative base (Rafiq 2014; Dewi 2017). Another word to say, this kind of reading style sees hadith as purely an order to practice and pays no attention to the historical record of a *matn*. As a result, it sees current development of muslims society as *bid'ah*. To put an instance, to cope with pandemic situation, prayers is obtained directly from the text of the Hadith or the Quran, such as *dzikr pagi dan petang* suggested by *Muhammad bin Shalih al-Utsaimin* in his *Ushul Sittah fil Iftiqar ilallah fisy Syiddah*. The dzikr consists of series of *ayat al quran* and hadith that is believed to intensify a good and blessed daily life, such *as ayat al kursi, mu'awwidzatain*, *sayyidul istighfar*, most of those prayers are taken from the sound hadith {hadits shahih} and hasan, transmitted from *salafi* mainstream ulama (Al Sijistani 1424 Hadith no. 1459 - 1462). The atomistic reading of hadith, thus, consider the *matn* as purely a guidance to practice, or in the living hadith perspective, *performative purpose*.

In contrast, the second pattern, better known as *functional reception*, clearly defines the process of transmission of routine *du'a* by ulama as part of their reading style toward Quran and Hadith (Rafiq 2014). This step completes the first pattern by including historical and contextual aspects of both *ayat al quran* and *hadith*. opens widely to the possible adjustment that such ulama response toward their surroundings. Unlike the previous pattern that regard *matn* as an order to practice, this kind of reading consider matn hadith as either an informative historical-aspect of the Prophet period, or performative. The latter, thus, articulates the practice in a more contextual way and lays upon a rather Sufistic tradition that

put the textual and authoritative transmission as the most crucial element for their daily guidance. A clear example of the second pattern is poem of *li khamsatun,* which is transmitted from KH. Hasyim Asy'arie from various of source (Zuhri 2020) and objectivied through practice form one generation to another. The other example is the general authorization {*ijazah 'ammah*} of by Habib Luthfi. In such video, Habib Luthfi explains that *ratib*, is an arrangement of ayat quran and matn hadith which has asbab an nuzul and asbab al wurud. Ratib al-Haddad is written by Habib Abdullah bin Alwi Al-Haddad, and Ratib al-attas is authored by Habib Umar bin Abdur Rahman Al Attas, both are prominent and authoritative figure in Thariqah 'Alawiyah. Since its narrative, taken from ayat quran and hadith, it consists of *shalawat, tahlil, tasbih, tahmid,* and *istighfar*; transmitted from the author to later generation systematically. As the wirid is firstly initiated by a pious figure in Sufi, *awliya',* the purpose of reading this *ratib* is to gain a blessing from God, well and healthy life, and specifically to defend against uncertainty such as war and infectious disease (Channel 2019).

Apparently, both of the *dzikr* and *wirid* are more or less the same; it is supplicated from Qur'an and hadith. However, the process in gaining such prayer is somehow different. While the first pattern put less attention to the reason behind the supplication and focuses on the great meaning the read-dzikr; the latter pattern put their great attempt in integrating every bit of qualitative aspects for the author, and the transmission line. To further discuss how the practice of hadith in the pandemic situation, it is suggested to highlight both patterns of reading that is situated in more physical distancing context. As some has explored the massive role of internet mediated religiosity, it is crucial to raise some questions, such as how this proses of reception work in the surrounded digitally mediated religion? While this article focuses on the role of religious authority, how Muslim society consider the role of religious authority in the internet mediated

time, such as Covid-19 lockdown? what is considered as authoritative source of accepting the personal du'a in the midst of Covid-19 lockdown time?

Mediated Religious Life

The Covid-19 Lockdown in March to June 2020, has shaken the social and economic life of Indonesian, and even the religious transmitting mode in Muslim society in this country. It is particularly happened when religious gatherings that characterised Indonesian Muslim religious pattern seem impossible to conduct during that time (Darmalaksana 2020b), and personal interaction has been psychical distanced. Having difficult to adjust the situation, people depend hugely on the help of internet as an interactive medium. Many of religious gatherings, such as *Istighosah Kubro, Khatmil Quran, Tahlil,* are being held virtually, as well as other webinars conducted by Islamic religious organizations. Consequently, this huge migration from psychical to virtual interaction affected the nature of religious interface, which is known as the internet mediated religion and mediated religious rituals (Zuhri 2020).

Furthermore, Bunt (2018) mentions the significant internet mediated rituals alters three spectrums of religious authority: *first* the internet mediated religion destabilises the foundation of traditional religious authority. During the time of Covid-19 quarantine days, where Muslim society are enforced to keep up dating their worldwide pandemic information. As Kosasih et al (2020) have explained, many hoax news circulated among internet and social media during the first months of pandemic situation. As a result, the below instances show a struggle of the subjects to adjust the situation. The first case is brought by Aula (2020, 131), mentions the religious gathering by *Jamaah Tabligh* (Vaismoradi, Turunen, and Bondas) in March in South Sulawesi and refers the incongruent role that has been played by sort of religious organization that ignore the

health protocols during the pandemic situation. Another example was the preaching of phenomenal ulama' Ustadz Abdul Shomad (Tuasikal), who says that corona was God's army for Uighur people whom free from the Covid-19 infection. Later he clarified the statement by referring to one tafsir of Surat *Al-Lahab* by Muhammad Abduh, who says that the word *thairan ababil* in the Surat was in fact a measles virus infection (Maliki 2020). In the case of JT, the reception toward religious conduct, that is to gather in the *jama'ah,* has been threatened by the pandemic situation. Such reading toward text was no longer acceptable in the pandemic situation. Similarly, the tafsir of virus equals to God's army that UAS referred to Syeikh Muhammad Abduh {d. 1905} inadequately response to recent condition, the Covid-19 outbreak.

The *second* spectrum Bunt (2018) mentions the contrast point, where digital mediated religion offers alternative approaches and information. Apart from the above-mentioned examples, major religious authorities, such as Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI), Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and Muhammadiyah actively response by investing their resources into what Bunt called as "the digital mediation of fatwas and related information". As mentioned in Table 4, these organisations offer the more substantial real-time advice to the followers, and tries to inspire the non-internet mediated boundaries. the significance of internet-driven religious authority not only has been amplified through the implementation of strategic 'digital media policies' by these major religious organizations but also has been boosted by an ample of Islamic sites since the first decade of 2000s (Zuhri 2018). The more moderate approach to the *jama'ah* is simply seen, since the Islamic websites offer various communication techniques to spread interaction widely, such as dialog, Q&A, and online chatting, or even a non-interactive channel. With a more impersonal religious authority, these religious organization even go further by accepting digital interfaces as medium for their religious performance and ritual (Bunt 2018).

	Institution	Internet Uses	Form
1	Nahdlatul Ulama	Letter of Instruction to practice Qunut Nazilah https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/117434/ prihatin-atas-tersebarnya-virus-corona-- pbnu-instruksikan-nahdliyin-baca-qunut- nazilah	News in Website
2	Muhammadiyah	Surat Edaran Tuntunan Ibadah Dalam Kondisi Darurat COVID-19 http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/muhfile/ download/EDARAN%20Tuntunan%20 Ibadah%20di%20Masa%20Darurat%20 COVID-19.pdf	File in Website
3	Majelis ulama Indonesia (MUI)	Fatwa majelis ulama indonesia nomor: 14 tahun 2020 tentang penyelenggaran ibadah dalam situasi terjadi wabah COVID-19 https://mui.or.id/wp-content/ uploads/2020/03/Fatwa-tentang- Penyelanggaran-Ibadah-Dalam-siatuasi- Wabah-COVID-19.pdf	File in Website
4	Partai Keadilan Sejahter	Fikih ibadah di saat darurat Bayan dewan syariat pusat, Partai keadilan sejahtera, Nomor : 73/b/k/dsp-pks/1441h, Tentang Fikih ibadah di saat darurat (munculnya wabah corona) https://pks.id/content/bayan-dewan- syariah-pusat-pks-tentang-fikih-ibadah-di- saat-darurat	File in Website

Table 4: Fatwa, Instructions, and Guidance released by Religious Organizations and Religious-based Parties in their websites

The *third* concept, Bunt (2018) articulates the significant reactions of Muslim society toward the internet mediated religion, is that Islamic virtual sphere was not just exists spiritually but digitally always ON {24/7}, actively responds to a number of particular issues and circumstances, and are articulated and circulated through digital formats. The condition reflects what is called as democratisation of religion (Jinan, cited by Zuhri 2018). For the sake of this article, Muslim response toward the coronavirus outbreak can be directed toward the circulation of the *du'a* via website, online newspaper, and social media as explained below.

Each of tables below show media coverage of various shalawat/ zikr/wirid/hizb that has been accessed in last 12 months (since September 2019 – August 2020). The researcher utilizes google.trends.com to track the most popular *du'a*. Among the popular *du'a* during the pandemic were: *Doa wabah, li khamsatun, rattib al haddad, rattib al attas,* and *shalawat tibbil qulub/sholawat al busyro*. Table 5 shows that *sholawat tibbil qulub* is the most accessed/downloaded shalawat with more that 100 interest, followed by *ratib al haddad*, and *ratib al attas* respectively. The public access to such *wirid* begins to elevate since February, where the popularity of sholawat tibbil qulub start to rise at first week of February. It is interesting to note that although the popularity of sholawat tibbil qulub was quite stable during the given time, ratib al haddad experience a sudden strike as the end of March. It is suggested that there must be a prominent figure who introduce such ratib, and begin to viral. However, this opinion needs a further research to considerate.
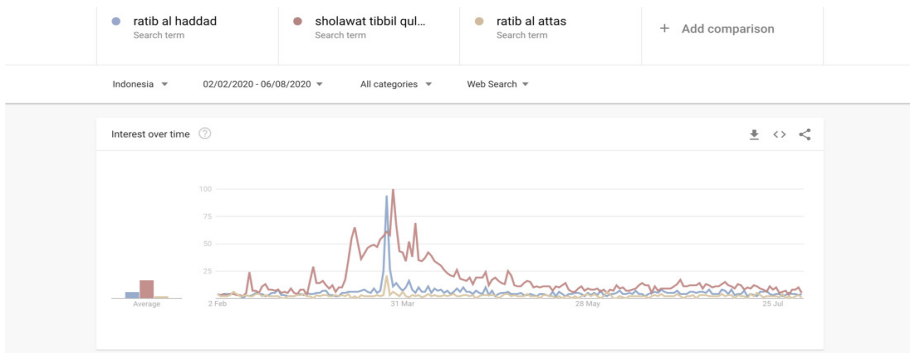

Table 5: The most accessed Wirid, Hizb, and shalawat by February to August 2020
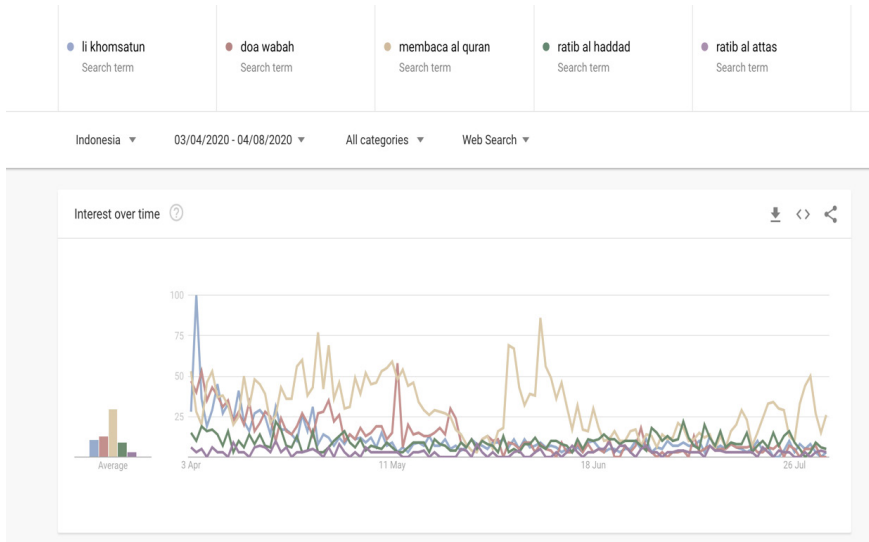
Table 6: The most accessed shalawat and *du'a* in compare to Reciting Quran by April to August 2020

The researcher tries to incorporate another category into the trend plate, by putting the word tilawah qur'an and do'a wabah. As a result, Table 6 displays *du'a* and *wirid* in more diverse. From the period of April to July 2020 (end of lockdown and the start of new normal in Indonesia) a wirid *li khomsatun* intensified its access (100 interest in April), followed by the entry of tilawah qur'an that fluctuate from 0 to more than 75 interest in the given time. Another popular wirid was *doa wabah*, refers to a Hadis by Anas bin Malik (An-Nawawi, 2015, series 4, hadis 1484) which literally is said:

اللهم إني أعوذ بك من البرص والجنون والجذام ومن سيئ الأسقام

Narrated Anas ibn Malik:

> The Prophet Muhammad pbuh used to say: "O Allah I seek refuge in Thee from leprosy, madness, elephantiasis, and evil diseases."

In compare to the ever mentioned wirid, that is ratib al attas and ratib al haddad, do'a wabah is more popular. However, it is also worth to note that this picture covers national record, and potentially disregard a more regional coverage, such as Kalimantan or Java in specific areas.
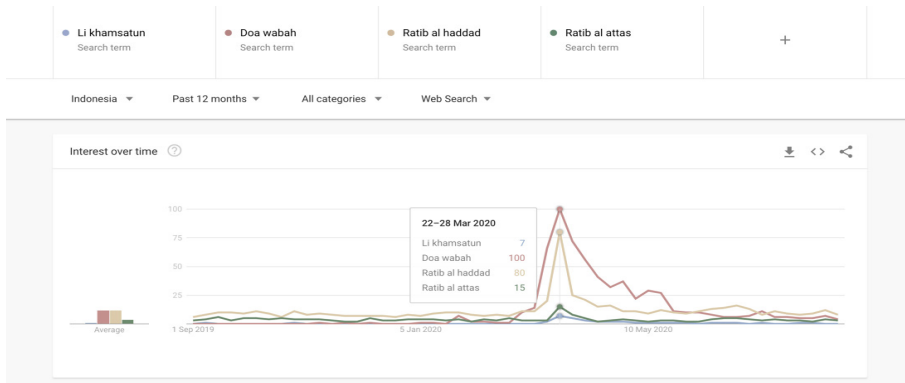
Table 7: The most accessed shalawat and wirid by September 2019 – August 2020

Table 7 functions as the result of most accessed *du'a* and *wirid* around one year (September 2019 – August 2020), those are *li khamsatun, doa wabah,* and both *ratib al haddad* and *ratib al attas.* Doa wabah remained the top of retrieved information (100 interest), followed by ratib al haddad (80 interest), with wirid *li khamsatun* as the least trend. It is worth to note that the all tables cover national data, regardless of regional trend which may vary. For instance, wirid *li khamsatun* that stand as the smallest information retrieved nationally, might be the highest accessed wirid in specific areas, such as East Java.

To sum, both internet and ritual are a separation of space between constant streaming of religious information and everyday activities have been publicly known before Covid-19outbreak. Considering the bombardiers of the internet 24/7 existence, it is clear that now religious phrases are published including *wirid, zikr,* and *shalawat.* The above-mentioned instances have shown that internet-mediated religion is

particularly significant, in the isolation time when Muslims' are impossible to reach mosques or interact with authorities due to health barriers are helped online. *Li khamsatun* and *shalawat tibbil qulub* are two most retrieved *du'a* during the Covid-19 quarantine days in March, and *doa wabah* became the longest period of access. A more qualitative approach is, then, needed to corelate the digital access with the daily practice.

Result of the Survey

The result is divided into two aspects, both survey result and interview. The survey can be classified into three aspects, those are: the Indonesian Muslim response toward the spread of Covid-19 and the intensity of du'a; variety of wirid/dzikr and shalawat being read; and issue related to religious authority in mediated religious practice of wirid/dzikr and shalawat.

The first category of question, shows Indonesian Muslims response toward the Covid-19 spread is *Waspada* {attentive} as their major response 87 response, followed by *Takut* {freaful} 11 response, *Pasrah* {surrender} is 5, *Tidak Perduli* {ignorance} is 4 response, and Paranoid {paranoid} is 3 response. In such a condition, it is reflected from the respondents that personal *du'a* substitutes religious gathering which is normally held in mosques. In regard to the question of quantity of du'a is fluctuative, most of them read *zikr* regularly 3 -5 times a day {88 response}, followed by supplicating wirid/hizb 1-2 times per day {42 response}, and reciting shalawat >5 times per day {41 response}, considering that one subject may practice more than one du'a.

Next, question about the supplication of du'a response also vary. Mostly refer to the word dzikr, wirid, hizb, and shalawat. The most recited zikr was *zikr ba'da salat maktubah* (13 response), then, *istighfar* (9 response), and *dzikr pagi dan petang* (8 response) respectively. While shalawat *Nariyah* and shalawat *Tibbil qulub* remain low (3-4 response), there is also particular

hizb read by 5 respondents. It is worth to note that most of the respondents understand the virtue of their recited *du'a*. Among the virtues of recited du'a in pandemic condition 28 of the answer response a feeling of tranquillity {ketenangan}, 24 responses asking for God's protection {tolak balak/keselamatan}, and 7 responses say the du'a was recited to seek for God relief {perlindungan}.

Furthermore, the issue of religious authority is also significant aspect in this survey, among 106 responses, about 87of them agree that *ijazah* or permission from an authoritative ulama is important, and 8 responses disagree on such view, while about 9% reflect no recognition on such issue. In line to the source of information about du'a or dzikr they are practicing, the response is even varying. There are 108 responses in total, where a participant can response to more than one answer. The highest response say they prefer to have direct permission from the relatives, such as parents and siblings (53.7%), about 50 responses answer that they have a direct permission from ustadz, kyai and other religious figures, also 25 of them are admit to access from the literature (kitab). It is interesting to note that only 24 responses declare that they assign such du'a or dzikr from the social media. Regarding the authority, recent virtual sphere also extends the meaning of the word, including the popular ulama in the internet. In doing so, the survey shows that 46.7% of them allow the ulama popularity to include to their preference. In line to such question, 75.5% respondents prefer religious affiliation or organization as the most preferable category to trust to such ulama and only 14.2% of them disagree on religious affiliation. As 14.4% of them suggest of not conducting ijazah from internet access, the majority of respondents tolerate others to access ijazah of du'a from internet, and only 1% disagree.

To sum up the survey result, the Indonesian Muslim response toward the spread of Covid-19 with attentive emotion, their individual attempt to release anxiety is evident, with the highest rate in supplicating

dzikr or wird for about 3 – 5 times a day. The second group of question result that among the supplicated du'a were *zikr ba'da salat maktubah* as the most recited dzikr, contrasting to the popularity of media report (in this research is the google trend). The respondents are aware of the virtues of the du'a, where they ask to have a feeling of tranquillity as the most common purpose of the du'a. As the last group of question reflect on the religious authority issue, many aspects resulted from the survey. First, most of the respondents agree that they need permission to practice such du'a from the authoritative ulama. Still, when they were asked the source of their du'a or wirid, they realized that the closest family is the highest figure who supports the information, followed by the direct *ijazah* from kyai and ustadz as the second source of information. Second, the religious organization background remains as the most accepted criteria for the ulama preference, and only inadequate response prefer the ulama popularity. However, as they prefer the religious knowledge and pay less attention toward internet-popular religious figure for themself, most of the respondents allow other Muslim to undergo the contrast: accepting the permission from the internet and social media.

Result of Interview

In order to further understand the practice of du'a by Indonesian Muslim, an interview is also conducted to the purposive subjects. The stringent social structure affects personal motivation for virtual interactions, while religious background of the interview subjects provides various options of *du'a*, regardless of their age. Likewise, the 24/7 ON of Covid-19 in the internet, during the first three months of 2020 in Indonesia reassure the subjects' attempt to regain the lost-feeling of religious gatherings (*jama'ah*). The condition has shaped a constant spiritual sphere from a physical interaction to the integrated virtual one. The first subject, Noor (19 YO, M) who live in Sulawesi during the quarantine months represents

those who are aware of internet information but refer to one version of a popular *wirid*. He feels inundated by massive information on Covid-19 that relatively new issue and decides to step back to his previous daily prayers in *pesantren,* that is *shalawat Nariyah,* as it is particularly correlate to the recent risk condition. For him, the uncertainty of internet report about Covid-19 is somehow a waste to follow. However, a general respond is needed, and that is the reason for him to take *shalawat nariyah* as a major dzikr to undertake daily. Likewise, a more explicit expression is articulated by Rahim (25yo, M) a graduate student at one of Islamic University at Yogyakarta. He realizes that:

> *"Although I access various du'a trough internet, but I did not participate yet follow the guidance. That is merely because I feel more comfortable to recite prayers that I practiced for years which suits to my tradition. Most of all, I rely mostly on* Covid-19 *protocols. I only participate the religious gathering for once, that is during Ramadhan months. Apart from it, I depend mostly on non-virtual gatherings where I can feel its stronger psychological effect." (25/08/2020)*

For Rahim (25yo, M) and Noor (19 yo, M), the huge digital information does not affect their personal du'a activity. Although the subjects' most practiced prayer, *shalawat tibbil qulub* and *shalawat Nariyah* are among the most popular *du'a* in the media, their previous reception in the *pesantren* remains more solid rather than the heightened news. The interview inline to the survey result, where public hesitancy toward internet sources appears for their personal matter. Participants such as Rahim (25yo, M) and Noor (19 yo, M) realize that the religious gatherings are shaken by the protocols, but for young Muslim, their personal life and attempt to release the anxiety matter more. And to overcome such issue, they both reflect to the previous taught prayers. However, both Rahim (25yo, M) and Noor (19 yo, M) inattentiveness toward the digital sphere opposes to other experiences of Nia (25 yo, F) and Siti (37yo, F). Nia (25 yo, F), response to the outbreak attentively, as she obeys protocols and keeps updating the information. In addition, she initiates follow a

prominent ulama Instagram account and decides to accept a specific *du'a* from the religious leader. Nia (25 yo) participates in a religious gathering as a support of that personal practices.

> *"In so far, during the isolation days I practices a* zikr *from an authoritative* kyai *which I follow his Instagram account. I do believe that it was his verified account, and he himself who activates and posts various updates. So, I practice his guidance trough the platform and fully aware that I need his guidance during these difficult days." (25/07/2020)*

It is interesting to highlight the effort Nia has done to verify the ulama's social media account before she follows his guidance. In addition, the more active virtual participation is explicitly evident in the case of Siti (37yo, F), an Indonesian student who is living in Australia during the lockdown. She realises the huge impact of internet as of her companionless days. Utilizing the various virtual gatherings in internet and many *du'a* spread during that days help her to reckons non only her tranquillity, but also the uncertain condition of her status:

> *"I recite shalawat tibbil qulub, a sholawat I found from my favourite religious organization website. I got an information from my relatives, the shalawat also recited regularly in our nearby mosque in my home-village, in East Java for five times a day. The concern I put most was on my parents' health, but I also aware of my current condition. The uncertainty may affect my scholarship, that is why I need to concentrate on my study, although it seems impossible during a restricted isolation."*

> *"I found a feeling of togetherness that has disappeared during the stringent isolation. We cannot go out except for urgent reason, such as to meet weekly needs. The virtual religious gatherings I attend for a couple of times have released those anxiety, given me a chance to share our feelings here, a sense of incapability during those hard days."*

Among those subjects, Syamsi (46yo, M) consider the role of mediated internet during the quarantine days as fruitful help. He decides to use social media platform freely and found that the social media functions hugely for his attempt to connect to his linked pesantren/ulama linkage.

Principally, he says that when huge information of Covid-19 continues to flow, he gets a specific *hizb* written in a meme signed with an information of specific purpose of the *hizb* and the name of Kyai. This piece of written text was spread through social media for his closest family through family *Whatsapp* group. He then, accept such *hizb* as if there will be a direct interactive between the Kyai and the (santri) audiences.

Discussions

The survey of this research has proven that most of respondents are in 'attentive' toward the condition, with a very low rate of fearful and relinquish. It is possible to conclude that unlike previous research that claim Muslims' ignorance responding the guidance, the response reflects their comprehending steps toward the situation. It particularly makes sense, since the following questions on personal *ibadah* may also reflects anxiety relieving. Zikr and shalawat are recited in personal way, explicitly a private attempt which is seldom noticed by the media. The survey resulted that *du'a* is the most personal ibadah, with *dzikr*, *wirid/hizb*, and *shalawat* as the most intense prayer respectively. Among these *du'a*, the reading of *zikr ba'da shalat maktubah,* istighfar, and *dzikr pagi dan petang* are the most recited, with average response to *shalawat Tibbil Qulub* and *Shalawat Nariyah.* These *du'a* are regarded as spiritual attempt to provide a tranquility (ketenangan).

In contrast, the popularity of many dzikr/wirid/shalawat in spiritually digital sphere, showed by google trends (those are shalawat tibbil qulub, wirid *li khamsatun*, and do'a wabah) do not give high impression to the personal *duá* of the respondents, as they prefer to recite *dua bakda shalat maktubah, istighfar dan bacaan doa pagi dan petang.* This condition may refer to two conditions; first, that the recited *wirid* and *zikr* by respondents has already covered the popular one, which generally all together composed their feel mentally. For example, one may easily add *shalawat tibbil qulub* or *shalawat nariyah* at his/her *dua bakda shalat maktubah*. Second, the more

recent condition of digital sphere impresses respondents only knowledge and unaffected personal religious routines. This result also simplifies that not every Muslim society in Indonesia are ignorant to the current shift, though it was only some of them who follow the internet mediated guidance. It is presumably that in the scope of community, the du'a is read, but for personal matter, a more time is needed to adjust. It is worth to mention the first stage of Bunt spectrum where the religious orders seem to be destabilized. However, the result goes further; while there is a religious ON 24/7 connectivity, yet there is some time for respondents who try to detached from the internet, and feel that internet source is not comparable to the direct and guaranteed guidance. But this stage is only one finding among other more adaptive model.

The above discussion also evidenced by the interviews result. the case of Rahim (25yo, M) and Noor (19 yo, M) reception, they feel in hesitance to accept the religious mediated wirid and dzikr. As they favor their tradition rather than the recent internet sources, it is particularly because the tradition in their pesantren reflects of what Rafiq (2004) calls as functional reception toward the Quran and Hadis. In contrast to the internet mediated model which require fast and widespread information, less consider to text authority, the functional reception requires a repeated structured text and structured act. That is the reason why both Rahim (25yo, M) and Noor (19 yo, M) feel hesitant to practice the most retrieved wirid/dzikr. Particularly because they consider incapable to accept the reception model which necessitate fast and anonymity, rather than repeat, long process, and permission of an ulama/kyai. Another word to say, both Rahim (25yo, M) and Noor (19 yo, M) favors to accept the functional reception model from their Kyai, because they feel of the direct and repeated guidance, contrasting to the once downloaded du'a from an internet during the pandemic time.

It is also interesting to note, that issue of territory become an influential aspect in seeing the popularity of accessing a shalawat or zikr in the Google trends. The first aspect refers to the media trends which show both shalawat *rathibul haddad*, *rathibul attas* and *shalawat tibbil qulub* are more popular in East Java and South Kalimantan, compared to the *Doa Wabah* which found its popularity among muslims in Gorontalo. Comparing this territory based-trend to the interview result, the case of Siti (37yo, F), Nia (25 yo, F) and Syamsi (46yo, M) indicate that some subjects also favours the internet triumph. In the case of Siti (37yo, F), this condition works since the internet represents a euphoria when she misses the feeling of tight-closeness of her family, during the hard-hitting isolation. Her access to the internet has impacted her practice, that is *shalawat tibbil qulub*, as she also actively participates in virtual religious gathering.

This euphoria reflects of Bunt's second spectrum, where major religious authorities' effort successfully offered an alternative approaches and information to the society. Siti (37yo, F) is also among others who make use of religious organisations investment on "the digital mediation of fatwas and related information" (Table 4). It is then possible to say that for the case of far-reached territory, the role of internet is successful to reconnect the feeling of lost and lonely. Further, Siti also re-actualizes the functional reception since she selects a particular website and religious gatherings that not only relate to her religious background, but also useful for her current situation. Although one may resist that a Covid-19 pandemi is not crucial to consider the reconnection, the fact about the lockdown policy has caused such feeling in more severe. During that time, internet help to reunite in only a short time. Other interview cases suggest that although many respondents have infiltrated to online medium for their spiritual life, a functional reception model does not lose the spirit. Nia precedes her attempt to accept the ijazah by confirming the Kyai's social media account, and Syamsi chooses to restrict to an exclusive group to accept the *ijazah*.

The other interesting result is about the issue of authenticity. Generally, respondents have a knowledge about virtues and benefit of reciting wirid/dzikr/shalawat. Tranquillity and the God protection are among the highest virtues du'a, reflect the advices written by Al-Asqalany from varies of hadith, that it is necessary to stay at home during the infectious pandemic, recite du'a wabah regularly, pay attention in patience, as well as positively thinking about the situation and the future (Al-Asqalany 1991). The role of *Ijazah* is also significant for respondents, as more than half regard *ijazah* as the major aspect for the recited du'a, and they prefer the authoritative ulama which may come from religious organizations or familial links. The exploration of reception also indicates that the Ulama such as Habib Luthfi attempt to give an ijazah ammah (general permission) indicates that this kind of *ijazah* may suit to the nature of internet mediated prayers without losing any authenticity issues, even during the outbreak condition. Either wirid/dzikr/shalawat devotion indicate a convincing transmission from ulama or kyai to lay muslim society, regardless of their medium, either face to face or indirect model.

The interview with Nia (25 yo) and Syamsi (46yo, M) reflects such situation. In her expression between the question of verified account internet, Nia (25 yo, F) realizes that she needs to ascertain some part of internet sources. The issue of authority goes hand in hand with the authenticity of virtual account. In the mediated religious sphere, that issue remains crucial, included as part of religious certainty. Nia (25 yo) needs to consider the verified religious leader's account before she believes on the kyai's ijazah on such *du'a*. The creativity of Muslim respondents goes beyond of what is called as democratization of mediated religion. It is an era where Muslims respond to COVID-19 that lead to their physical limitation, even articulate the reception model into more complex and dynamic. An attempt by Nia to reassure the Kyai's account on social media may be seen as unpolite in terms of traditional model. But, in the circulated digital formats, this step is necessary to make sure the authenticity.

Probably, this is also the reason why most of respondents agree to use this preference for themself, and seemingly tolerate for others. Because for muslims, maintaining religious authority is necessary and crucial for spiritual life. In addition to the issue of authority, Syamsi (46yo, M) case is considered the most compelling attempt among the respondents. He actively preserves the functional reception by represents those who use specific *hizb* for a specific purpose. He is not only believing that the meme came from an authoritative ulama, but he is able to prove that his specific *ijazah* of the *hizb* is convincing. At the same time Syamsi (46yo, M) also feels confidence to keep maintaining his conventional model of accepting the *hizb* without hesitantly avoid the intense turmoil of Covid-19 information.

Conclusion

This research concludes that Muslim ignorance to the authority's suggestion was purely the early response they reacted, as the survey of this research has proven, most of respondents are in 'attentive' toward the condition, their personal spiritual attempt to release anxiety is evident through survey and triangulated interview. Among the supplicated du'a, *zikr ba'da salat maktubah* is the most recited dzikr, contrasting to the most retrieved du'a in the media, *Li khamsatun* and *shalawat tibbil qulub*. The respondents are aware of the virtues of the du'a, where they ask to have a feeling of tranquillity as the most common purpose of the du'a, most of the respondents agree that they need a permission to practice such *wirid, dzikr, shalawat* from the authoritative ulama, with the closest family is the most trusted source, followed by the direct *ijazah* from kyai or ustadz. Likewise, they prefer less on ulama popularity but pay attention to the authority.

The more detail result shows that not every Muslim society in Indonesia are ignorant to the current shift, which is termed as a destabilized religious order. A more detail condition says that while there is a religious

ON 24/7 connectivity, yet there is some time for respondents to detached from the huge information, and feel that internet source is not comparable to the direct and guaranteed guidance. In such a situation, some respondents decide to refer to their previous tradition. It is particularly because the tradition of pesantren reflects of what to functional reception toward the Quran and Hadis. Unlike internet mediated model which require fast and widespread information, less consider to text authority; the functional reception requires a repeated structured text and structured act. That is also the reason for respondents' hesitancy to the most retrieved wirid/dzikr. Particularly because they reflect incapability to accept the reception model which necessitate fast and anonymity, rather than repeat, long process, and permission of an ulama/kyai.

In contrast to the internet detached behaviour, other respondents participate actively to the triumph of digital mediation of religiosity during the pandemic situation. This condition works since the internet represents a euphoria when feeling of separated and detached from family raises during the hard-hitting isolation. This reflects of Bunt's second spectrum, where major religious authorities' effort successfully offers an alternative approaches and information to the society, particularly in the case of far-reached territory. The second group of respondents also show the attempt to re-actualizes the functional reception through at least three steps: *first*, the selection of a particular religious base website which relate to the previous values and virtues. The *second* attempt is done through confirmation of the ulama social media account, and *last,* social media restricted access. Three of those attempts are actions done by respondents to assure their acceptance to specific du'a/wirid/hizb (*ijazah*). Such attempts suggest that although many respondents have infiltrated to an online medium for their spiritual life, a functional reception model does not lose the spirit. The creativity of Muslim respondents goes beyond of what is called as democratization of mediated religion. It is an era

where Muslims respond to Covid-19 that lead to their physical limitation, even articulate the reception model into more complex and dynamic in the circulated digital formats, this step is necessary to make sure the authenticity.

Acknowledgement

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