Reception of Muslims to the Ḥadīth Prohibition of Praying for Non-Muslim Spirits in a Multi-Religious Society

Kasman[1], Makhrus[2], Arief Budiono[3]

Abstract

Prophet Muḥammad was not allowed to pray for his mother's spirit. Based on this ḥadīth, scholars generally prohibit Muslims from praying for non-Muslim spirits. However, not all Muslims are in line with the general views of these scholars, especially those who live in a multi-religious society. This paper aims to investigate the reception of Muslims in a multi-religious society towards the ḥadīth prohibiting praying for non-Muslim spirits. There were two substances studied here: the model of Muslim reception of the ḥadīth prohibiting praying for non-Muslim spirits, and the factors that influenced it. By using a qualitative descriptive method, we found that: first, they generally perceived it in a negotiated decoding position, which prohibits praying but does not prohibit attending prayers for non-Muslim spirits. We also found Muslims with an oppositional decoding position, which allows praying for and attending events to pray for non-Muslim spirits; and some perceived it in a dominant decoding position, which forbids praying and attending events to pray for non-Muslim spirits. Second, life experiences and beliefs may have influenced the occurrence of differences in the reception of Muslims in this multi-religious society.

Keywords: *Reception; ḥadīth; prayer; spirit; non-Muslim; multi-religiosity.*

Introduction

In Islam, prayers are essential, as mentioned in the ḥadīth of the Prophet Muḥammad SAW (Pease be upon him), who stated that prayers are the core of worship. Muslims who do not pray are considered arrogant and will earn the wrath of Allāh (Al-Bukhārī, 1998, p. 345). Apart from praying for himself, Islam also encourages praying for others, whether asked or not (Ibn Mājah, 2006, p. II: 967). Concerning praying for non-Muslim spirits, there is a ḥadīth of the Prophet that reads:

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «اسْتَأْذَنْتُ رَبِّي أَنْ أَسْتَغْفِرَ لِأُمِّي فَلَمْ يَأْذَنْ لِي، وَاسْتَأْذَنْتُهُ أَنْ أَزُورَ قَبْرَهَا فَأَذِنَ لِي»

Abū Hurayrah said: Rasulullah SAW said: "I asked permission from my Lord to ask forgiveness from my mother, but He did not allow me, and I asked Him for permission to visit my mother's grave, so He allowed me" (Muslim, n.d., p. 271).

Explicitly, this ḥadīth contains a prohibition against Muslims praying for non-Muslims who have died to get forgiveness. Rasulullah asked to pray for forgiveness for his mother, but Allāh didn't grant this request. In the life of a multi-religious society, praying for one another between people of different religions is common (Yuspin et al., 2022). When a neighbor is sick, as a form of empathy, religiously diverse neighbors will spontaneously pray for healing. Likewise, when someone dies, the family holds a gathering to pray for the deceased. Sometimes the family of the non-Muslim deceased asks for an Islamic prayer. These indicated that Muslim reception to the above ḥadīth varied in a multi-religious society.

So far, studies on multi-religious societies have tended to address five issues. First, the study of the life of tolerance and harmony in a multi-religious society (Japar et al., 2019). Second, Studies on religious education in multi-religious families/societies (Syaikhon, 2022). Third, Studies on the development of religious harmony in multi-religious societies in a sustainable manner (Abdullah et al., 2017). Fourth, studies of the occurrence of conflict in multi-religious societies (Deny Setiawan & Amal, 2016). Fifth, studies of praying for non-Muslims from an Islamic perspective (Meerangani et al., 2018).

To date, there has been no study of Muslim reception of the ḥadīth prohibiting praying for non-Muslim spirits in a multi-religious society. Reception, which initially appeared in literary theory, means the reader's

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[1] UIN Kiai Haji Achmad Siddiq Jember Jl. Mataram no. 1, Mangli, Jember, East Java, INDONESIA. Email: kasman.rohim@uinkhas.ac.id
[2] UIN Kiai Haji Achmad Siddiq Jember Jl. Mataram no. 1, Mangli, Jember, East Java, INDONESIA. Email: makhrus@uinkhas.ac.id
[3] Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, Pabelan Street, Kartasura, Surakarta, Central Java, Indonesia (Corresponding Author).

interpretation of a work that enables the reader to respond (Junus, 1985). Lately, the reception theory also applies to describe the acceptance of Muslims to the religious texts, the Quran and Ḥadīth. Indeed, the text in this study does not mean merely an analysis of the relationship between words, sentences or clauses, or other linguistic aspects but also examines the relationship between the creator, the reader, and the social and cultural elements when the text emerges and when it is read and perceived by the readers (Ahmadi, 2020).

Stuart Hall was the person who introduced the theory of reception and stated that the meaning encoded by the encoder (text producer) could be decoded (interpreted) into different things by the decoder (reader/audience) (Izziyana et al., 2019). The encoder will send meaning according to their perception and purpose, while the decoder will translate the message or meaning of the text according to their perception (Xie et al., 2022; Manini & Ali Abdillahi, 2023). Furthermore, Stuart Hall stated that the interpretation of the text by the decoder consisted of three categories: (1) Dominant decoding position, where the decoder decodes the text with a method that is symmetrical with that of the encoder. (2) Negotiated decoding position, in which the decoder decodes the message partly in agreement with the intention of the encoder and partly influenced by the decoder's social background. (3) Oppositional decoding position, where the decoder does not reflect the meaning of the information as determined by the encoder/producer but deciphers the code oppositely. Oppositional decoding is different from aberrant decoding. Oppositional decoding is a position in which the audience perfectly understands literal and connotative information but oppositely or rejects it (Doyle, 2019; Xie et al., 2022).

According to Hall, many factors that influence the reception's differences about the text include life experiences, moods, age, culture, beliefs, and gender. These mean that a 'text' (e.g., a book, film, or other creative work) is not merely received but also interpreted based on their respective cultural backgrounds and the daily life experiences of the audience (D'Egidio, 2015).

This paper aimed to fill the gap regarding the study of Muslim receptions of the ḥadīth prohibiting praying for non-Muslim spirits in a multi-religious society. There were two subjects to this study, first, the model of Muslim reception of the ḥadīths regarding the prohibition of praying for non-Muslim spirits in a multi-religious society; second, the factors influencing the Muslim reception of the ḥadīths regarding the prohibition of praying for non-Muslim spirits in a multi-religious society.
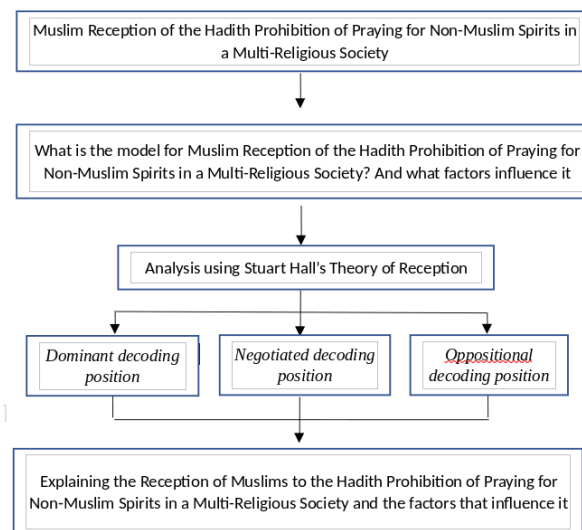

Figure 1. The flowchart of this research.

Methods

This study used a qualitative descriptive method, which described social or natural phenomena in a systematic, factual, and accurate manner. The qualitative method produced qualitative data in the form of written or spoken words from people or an observed process (Huberman & Miles, 2014).

This research was conducted in Sukoreno village, a remote area in Jember Regency, East Java, Indonesia. This village is known as the Pancasila village (Rahmatullah, 2018), where the people live in harmony in this multi-religious area. Initially, this village was dominated by Hinduism (Yudhistira, 2021). As time goes by,

social dynamics occurred, and the composition of the religion in this area changed. According to BPS (Central Bureau of Statistics) data published in 2019 (based on the 2018 census), the composition of the Sukoreno population was 7,152 Muslims, 35 Protestants, 110 Catholics, 124 Hindus, and 15 Buddhists (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Jember, 2019).

The data were collected through in-depth interviews (unstructured interviews), observation, and documentation (Arikunto, 2002, p. 149). The main data collection technique in this study was interviews especially with Islamic religious leaders, to obtain data related to their knowledge and reception of the ḥadīth about praying for non-Muslim spirits. In determining interviewees, we used a snowball sampling technique (Reserved et al., 2020). We determined a research subject that fitted the research criteria, who then recommended other potential subjects, who in turn recommended other potential subjects, and so on. Through this sampling technique, we were able to interview 17 Muslim.

Table 1. List of respondents.

Respondent	Position
R-1	Head of Village.
R-2	Secretary of Village.
R-3	Islamic Prayer Specialist
R-4	Chairman of Syuriah Branch of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)
R-5	Chairman of Tanfidziyah Branch of NU
R-6	Chairman of Syuriyah Branch of NU
R-7	Chairman of the tanfidziyah branch of NU.
R-8	Religious leader
R-9	A Community Leader around a Catholic Church and a Hindu Temple.
R-10	Chairman of the Female Youth of Branch NU.
R-11	Treasurer Tanfidziyah of NU Branch.
R-12	Junior High School Islamic Teacher.
R-13	An Islamic Teacher, Prayer Leader.
R-14	Elementary School Islamic Teacher.
R-15	An Islamic Prayer Congregation Member.
R-16	An Islamic Prayer Congregation Member.
R-17	An Islamic Prayer Congregation Member.

Observational and documentary methods were used to confirm the findings from the interviews (Budiono et al., 2022). These confirmations were conducted by observing the activities of praying for non-Muslim spirits followed by Muslims. While the document examinations were conducted by reading relevant archives and papers.

The data were analyzed descriptively through the process of data reduction, display, and verification. Data reduction involved extraction, summarization of the field observations, interviews, and document examination to acquire the main points. Presentation of the data involved organizing the data into a form to make them more readable. The data verification was carried out continuously throughout the research process (Sugiyono, 2008, p. 246).

To test the validity of the data, a source triangulation technique was used (Safira et al., 2019), namely comparing observed data with interview results, comparing conditions and perspectives between informants regarding the research focus (Budiono et al., 2020), and comparing interview results with the contents of a related document (Wibowo et al., 2023).

Results

We found that in a multi-religious society, praying for one another between people of different religions has been common. If a neighbor was sick, as a form of empathy, neighbors from different religions would spontaneously pray for healing. Likewise, when someone dies, sometimes a prayer event is conducted involving people of a different religion from the person who died. In this multi-religious society, every time

someone dies, the family holds a gathering to pray for the deceased. "In this event, they do not only invite people of the same religion but neighbors from different religions." (R-8, pers. comm. November 16, 2019; R-2, pers. comm. November 30, 2019; R-3, pers. comm. November 23, 2019). Sometimes there were even requests for *tahlīl* (Muslim prayer congregation) to pray for non-Muslim spirits.

The *tahlīlan* to pray for non-Muslim spirits may be due to one of two factors: the house is in a Muslim neighborhood, or the sons/daughters of the deceased are Muslims (R-10, pers. comm. November 24, 2019; R-15, R-16 and R-17, pers. comm. November 25, 2019) like what the R-12 family experienced.

R-12 mentioned that he attended the Felix family when holding a *tahlīlan* for the death of his Catholic parents. The Felix family was the only Catholic in this Muslim area. So, he was most likely uncertain about the Muslim procedure of *tahlīl*. In addition, in such a situation, the funeral was unlikely to be conveniently held in a Catholic way (R-12, pers. comm. November 30, 2019).

The second factor was the most common in this area, where any member of the Catholic family is Muslim. Those Muslim family members request to hold a *tahlīl* recitation and to pray for the spirits of these non-Muslim parents or families. In such Islamic events, they not only invite Muslims but also non-Muslim neighbors (R-1, pers. comm. November 16, 2019; R-13, pers. comm. November 30, 2019; R-3, pers. comm. November 23, 2019; R-11, pers. comm. November 24, 2019).

Concerning the above phenomena, we found there were various responses among Muslims in multi-religious societies:

First, some believed that it was not permissible to pray for and attend invitations to pray for non-Muslim spirits. According to R-6 (pers. comm. November 17, 2019), "Islam prohibits praying for non-Muslim soul. Prayers for non-Muslim souls will not reach the deceased. No matter who performs, even if children of the deceased pray for their non-Muslim parents, their prayers would not connect the dead either. The reason was that Prophet Muḥammad asked Allāh for permission to pray for his mother, but Allāh did not allow it. Therefore, *tahlīlan* activities for non-Muslims are also not allowed (R-5, pers. comm. November 17, 2019; R-4, pers. comm. November 25, 2019). Not only attending *tahlīl* but also any events in the context of the funeral of non-Muslims, no matter by Islamic ceremony or not, we are not allowed to attend (R-14, pers. comm. November 16, 2019). In their view, attending a gathering without participating in the prayer means deceiving the host.

Second, we found a group of Muslims who accepted that they were allowed to attend a gathering to pray for non-Muslim spirits. R-8, who represented this group (pers. comm. November 16, 2019), said:

There are indeed ḥadīths that prohibit praying for non-Muslims who have died. However, other ḥadīths command respect for neighbors, both Muslims and non-Muslims. The Prophet used to add gravy for more goat dishes to distribute to his neighbors, both Muslims and non-Muslims. So, granting requests for prayers from non-Muslims to their deceased family member is part of a respectful attitude to avoid disappointment from neighbors. Regarding whether the prayer is accepted, it is up to God. His job is only to respect neighbors. Moreover, we pray for good people.

R-8 applied his views when he led the *Tahlīl* on the 100th-day death to pray for the deceased Sriyati and her husband, Sudiro, who were Catholics. On this occasion, R-8 delivered an introductory speech in Javanese, which means:

... Hopefully, with the blessing of reading the holy verses of the Koran Surah Yasin and *Tahlīl* later, all the sins of Sriyati will be forgiven by God, and may all her good deeds during her life will be accepted by God, so that now she is one of the people who live a happy life in the hereafter.

… next, on this occasion, we pray for the late Sudiro. May God bless him. Although not a Muslim, he was a good person in this world, and above all, it depends on Allāh's will. May Allāh accept all his good deeds and get the best reward in the presence of Allāh. Amin ya Rabb al-'Alamin…)

After delivering the introductory speech, R-8 led the Yāsīn *Tahlīl* recitation, starting with reading istighfār (praying for forgiveness) (3x), shahādatayn (statements of faith) (3x), tawaṣṣul (praying for intercession) by reading al-fātiḥah to:
1. the Prophet, family, Companions, and all Muslims.

2. the trustees, especially Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī.
3. the deceased, especially Sriyatin.
4. all the families of the deceased, especially Antonius Supriyono's family, Sri Astutik's family, Agus Triharjono's family, and Agnes Kartini, and her family.

Afterwards, it proceeded by reading Yāsīn, followed by reading selected verses, taḥmīd and *tahlīl*. Among the cosing prayers he read was

اَللهُمَّ تَقَبَّلْ وَاَوْصِلْ ثَوَابَ مَاقَرَأْنَاهُ في سورة الفاتحة ويس وسورة الإخلاص والمعوتين وأول سورة البقرة وأخرها وأية الكرسي والتسبيح والتكبير والتحميد والتهليل والصلاة عَلى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ هَدِيَّةً وَاصِلَةً وَرَحْمَةً نَازِلَةً وَبَرَكَةً شَامِلَةً اِلَى حَضْرَةِ حَبِيْنَا وَشَفِيْعِنَا وَقُرَّةِ اَعْيُنِنَا سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَاِلَى جَمِيْعِ اِخْوَانِه مِنَ الْاَنْبِيَآءِ وَالْمُرْسَلِيْنَ وَالْاَوْلِيَآءِ وَالشُّهَدَاءِ وَالصَّالِحيْنَ وَالصَّحَابَةِ وَالتَّابِعِيْنَ وَالْعُلَمَآءِ الْعَالِمِيْنَ وَالْمُصَنِّفِيْنَ الْمُخْلِصِيْنَ وَجَمِيْعُ الْمُجَاهِدِيْنَ فِى سَبِيْلِ اللهِ رَبِّ الْعَالِمِيْنَ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ الْمُقَرَّبِيْنَ خُصُوْصًا اِلَى سَيِّدِنَا الشَّيْخِ عَبْدِ الْقَادِرِ الْجَيْلَانِيّ

وإلى أرواح جَمِيْع أولياءك و اَهْلِ الْقُبُوْرِ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِيْنَ وَالْمُسْلِمَاتِ وَالْمُؤْمِنِيْنَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتِ مِنْ مَشَارِقِ اْلاَرْضِ اِلَى مَغَارِبِهَا بَرِّهَا وَبَحْرِهَا خُصُوْصًا اِلَى آبَاءِنَا وَأُمَّهَاتِنَا وَاَجْدَادِنَا وَجَدَّاتِنَا وَنَخُصُّ خُصُوْصًا خاصة إلى روح Mrs. Sriyati وخصوصا الى روح Mr. Sudiro

اَللهُمَّ اغْفِرْلَهُمْ وَارْحَمْهُمْ وَعَافِهِمْ وَاعْفُ عَنْهُم

(100th day of Mrs. Sriyati's Death Commemoration, Observation on 16 November 2019)

From the content of the opening speech, the target of the tawaṣṣul and the prayers he read explicitly stated the names of the late Sriyati and the late Sudiro to get forgiveness and a proper place beside Allāh. Even though Sriyati and Sudiro were Catholics, R-8 and the congregations did not question praying for forgiveness to non-Muslim spirits.

Third, we also found a group of Muslims who believed prohibition of praying but allowed attending invitations to pray for non-Muslim spirits. This group was the majority in this multi-religious society. In their view, praying for non-Muslim spirits is not permissible. On the other hand, the Prophet ordered respect for neighbors, no matter their religions. So, as a form of tolerance and respect for non-Muslims, there is nothing wrong with Muslims attending a congregation to pray for non-Muslim spirits R-7, pers. comm. November 17, 2019; R-13, pers. comm. November 30, 2019; R-11, pers. comm. November 24, 2019). In such congregations, Muslims in this group are usually sit in the back row.

It was common in the village that the family of a non-Muslim deceased asked for an Islamic funeral and prayers. In fulfilling this request, the prayer leader usually edited the prayer text by not specializing the prayer to the non-Muslim deceased. "In this case, when the death commemoration is in Islamic way, the reading of the *tahlīl* and the prayers are not specifically addressed to the deceased, but for the public" (R-11, pers. comm. November 24, 2019). That is, the prayer did not contain elements of praying for the non-Muslim deceased (R-3, pers. comm. November 23, 2019). Among the ways to deal with the prayers that R-12 once did when leading the Prayers and *Tahlīl* for non-Muslims were as follows: "Gentlemen, as we have witnessed, let us have the intention of worship together and as the host intention invites us all, let us pray together may ladies and gentlemen be accepted according to their beliefs, al-Fatihah …" (pers. comm. November 30, 2019)

Not only asking for Islamic prayers but sometimes a non-Muslim family also requested a complete Islamic funeral ceremony. It is not difficult to deal with *tahlīl* and prayers in the event of the death of non-Muslims. What is difficult and troublesome is when a non-Muslim die at the home of one of their Muslim children, where the children ask for Islamic corpse handling, including praying for them. In this case, R-13 (pers. comm. November 30, 2019) said, "The way to work around this is to add the word "in kāna musliman" (if he is a Muslim) to his intention to pray at a funeral. Although the corpse is a non-Muslim, he intent his prayer for someone else". That was the way to respect neighbors without violating the ḥadīth.

Discussion

From the data above, we found that there were three models of Muslim reception in multi-religious societies towards the ḥadīth of the Prophet, which reads:
عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «اسْتَأْذَنْتُ رَبِّي أَنْ أَسْتَغْفِرَ لِأُمِّي فَلَمْ يَأْذَنْ لِي، وَاسْتَأْذَنْتُهُ أَنْ أَزُورَ قَبْرَهَا فَأَذِنَ لِي» (Muslim, n.d.)

From Abū Hurayrah, said: Rasulullah SAW said: "I asked permission from my Lord to ask forgiveness from my mother, but He did not allow me, and I asked Him for permission to visit my mother's grave, so He allowed me."

As mentioned in the Results section, there were three groups of reception. The first group perceives the Ḥadīth as a prohibition against praying for non-Muslim spirits and attending the congregation. We can categorize this as a dominant decoding position where the decoder translates the text according to how the encoder encodes it (Haq et al., 2021). In this position, the receiver decodes the message in a way strictly aligned or symmetrical with how the encoder encodes the message, so there is no misunderstanding between the sender and the receiver (Xie et al., 2022). In the context of ḥadīth, the decoder is the reader, the encoder of the message is the Prophet, and the code is the message contained in the text of the ḥadīth. In the scholar's views, this ḥadīth indicates that it is not permissible to pray for the forgiveness of non-Muslim spirits. Imam al-Nawawī said: In this ḥadīth, there is a prohibition against praying for non-Muslims to receive Allāh's forgiveness (Al-Manṣūr, 2015). Even Imam al-Nawawi mentioned it as ijmā' (Al-Nawawī, n.d., p. 120). Furthermore, al-Qarāfī considered infidel for people who prayed for forgiveness for someone who died in disbelief status (Al-Qarāfī, 2001, p. 1405). The dominant meaning of the above ḥadīth is the prohibition of praying for non-Muslim spirits. Thus, the decoder (the first group) has translated the ḥadīth text according to what was encoded by the encoder (Prophet Muḥammad SAW).

Furthermore, the prohibition of praying for non-Muslim spirits indirectly prohibits attending invitations to pray for non-Muslim spirits (Ikhwanuddin et al., 2019). That means prohibition to participate in praying because clearly, the invitation is praying for non-Muslim souls. If you don't pray in such a gathering, then you are dishonest to the host.

The second group, which perceives that the ḥadīth cannot simply be applied in a multi-religious society, can be categorized into an oppositional decoding position. Based on personal experiences and backgrounds, decoders sometimes adopt decoding positions inconsistent with the dominant coding, including reflection and opposition. Such a decoder does not want to illustrate the connotation and meaning of the information in the manner specified by the encoder but decodes "in the opposite way" (Xie et al., 2022).

These people found a good relationship among the villagers from different religious adherents, so they did not want to apply the dominant meaning of the ḥadīth prohibition of praying for non-Muslim spirits. This group adopted other ḥadīth texts, which were more applicable according to their environmental conditions. The ḥadīth text which he found more suitable to the conditions of their environment was the words of the Prophet SAW:

مَنْ كَانَ يُؤْمِنُ بِاللهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِر فَلْيُحْسِنْ إِلَى جَارِه(Al-Naysābūrī, 1999, p. 69)

Meaning: "Whoever believes in Allāh and the Last Day should do good to his neighbors."

The command to do good to neighbors is general, not only for neighbors of relatives and Muslim neighbors but also for non-Muslims. Doing good to neighbors means acknowledgment of neighbors' rights. The rights of neighbors consist of four things: not to be disturbed, to be protected, to be treated well, and to be tolerant of neighbors' disturbances (Al-Ḥamd, n.d., p. 117). Fulfilling requests for prayer for non-Muslim spirits and attending the congregation is a form of doing ihsān to neighbors and following Islamic teaching. Indeed, not all Muslims who hold views like this are oppositional decoding, but many are aberrant decoding. Aberrant decoding is not the same as oppositional decoding (Xie et al., 2022). Aberrant decoding is the giving of meaning that deviates from the description of the dominant code due to a complete lack of understanding of the message in the ḥadīth prohibiting praying for non-Muslim spirits. Meanwhile, oppositional decoding is a position in which Muslims understand the ḥadīth prohibiting praying for non-Muslim spirits literally and connotatively. It's just that they give the meaning of a message in the opposite way or reject the dominant meaning.

The third group, which perceives the ḥadīth as a prohibition against praying for non-Muslim spirits, but not a prohibition on attending their invitations, can be included in the negotiated decoding position category. The negotiating position is a combination of adaptive and oppositional factors. Thus, the decoder understands the message partly based on the meaning requested by the media/text and partly on their social background (Xie et al., 2022). On the one hand, they acknowledge the authority of the message contained in the ḥadīth text, which prohibits praying for non-Muslim spirits, and accept some of the interpretations

of the text, which prohibits praying for non-Muslim spirits. On the other hand, they also emphasize their situation as a part of a multi-religious society, which must respect one another. Especially if a Muslim invites his non-Muslim neighbor, the non-Muslim neighbor will come. Therefore, attending a gathering to pray for non-Muslim spirits may be a form of mutual respect.

When we further investigated the social settings of the research informants (Budiono et al., 2023), we found that Muslims who did not have kinship relations or did not have close neighborhoods with non-Muslims tended to perceive this ḥadīth in a dominant decoding position. On the other hand, Muslims who had kinship or close relationships with non-Muslims tended to perceive this ḥadīth in an oppositional decoding position. However, some tended to perceive it in a negotiated decoding position. The development of this reception tendency was a part of the role of religious leaders and community leaders in a multi-religious society in internalizing religious teachings to do good to neighbors (Wardiono et al., 2021).

The belief that non-Muslim spirits are to be forgiven by Allāh has influenced his oppositional or negotiated reception. Those who believed that Allāh would not forgive them tended to perceive it in a negotiated manner, while those who believed that Allāh would possibly forgive them tended to perceive it optionally. This finding is in line with Hall's theory, which states that among the factors that influence the way readers/audiences read texts are life experiences and beliefs.

Conclusion

The reception of Muslims in a multi-religious society to the ḥadīth prohibiting praying for non-Muslim spirits has varied. In addition to receiving a negotiated decoding position, in a multi-religious society there are also Muslims who perceive an oppositional decoding position and a dominant decoding position towards the ḥadīth prohibiting praying for non-Muslim spirits. These differences in the perception of the ḥadīth prohibiting praying for non-Muslim spirits are influenced by factors of life experience and the beliefs of Muslims in this multi-religious society.

This research has several limitations in terms of the small sample and only in one location and involved only 18 respondents. In addition, the coverage of this research was only one village in Jember district, East Java, Indonesia. Accordingly, a further study is needed that accommodates larger sample sizes and locations.

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