



## **Manaqib In the Reception of the Banjar Community: Sanctification of Religious Text**

**Miftahul Jannah**

STAI Rakha, Amuntai, South Kalimantan

email: [miftajenny@gmail.com](mailto:miftajenny@gmail.com)

### **Abstract**

*Manaqib* is a popular term in the Muslim society in Indonesia, especially for *Nahdiyyin* circle, and also for Banjarese Muslim society (an ethnicity in South Kalimantan). Moreover, *manaqib* reading has been around since several decades ago and still continues to be practiced. The everlasting tradition of reading *manaqib* is due to the influence of the charismatic scholars who continue to help spread the tradition, one of which is through their works in the field of this *manaqib*. Among them are classical ulamas like Khadijah al-Kubra, Shaikh Samman al-Madani, Shaikh Abdul Qadir al-Jailani and local ulamas like Shaikh Arsyad al-Banjari, Tuan Guru Kasyful Anwar, Tuan Guru M. Zaini Gani, and many others. With qualitative-anthropological approach, this study concludes that the writing of the books by the Banjar scholars was greatly influenced by the strength of the *tariqa* teachings, especially the Naqshabandiyah and Sammaniyah. There is also the emergence of public trust in the sacredness of the reading of the *manaqib* text, which is believed to bring various blessings such as avoiding calamity and expanding fortune.

### **Keywords:**

text knowledge, *manaqib*, reception, Banjarese tradition

### **Intodruccion**

The spread and characteristics of Islam in Indonesia has always been an interesting theme to be discussed and explored, because there are various kinds of combinations, from religions, human values, culture,

tradition, up to the diverse ethnic groups. Islam came to Indonesia because of the role of ulama and also the *tariqa* that make it more diverse.

As historical beings in general, human life is always supported by life views and distinctive human values. With a view of life, a human being tries to understand the nature of his existence and the world around him. Meanwhile, with the values, humans do have a tendency to try to achieve the purpose of life, goodness, happiness, serenity, calmness and self-perfection. This view and values of life are wrapped up in religion and culture which function to regulate it (Maran, 2007: 2).

Kuntowijoyo explains that religion and culture are two things that interact and influence each other. First, religion influences culture in its formation. Its value is religion, but the symbol is culture. Second, culture can influence religious symbols. Third, culture can replace the value system and religious symbols (Kuntowijoyo 2001). The dialectic between religion and culture is a necessity. Religion gives color (spirit) to culture, while culture gives more perspectives to the implementation of religious teachings. This is what happens in Islamic dynamics in Indonesia.

One form of tradition that is transformed into a religious phenomenon is the reading of *manaqib* that has long been in the Banjar community. This is due to the factor of the spread of *tariqa* (schools of Sufism) brought into the various regions in Indonesia. For this reason, the present study will discuss how the origin of the practices and motives behind reading *manaqib*, and how strong the effects of these practices are in the community. Here, the author uses phenomenology research method and descriptive approaches (Usman and akbar 2006).<sup>1</sup> Religious behavior can be seen from various approaches. Scientists from various disciplines have tried to conduct intensive studies of these religious entities. One of them is the phenomenological approach that this

1 Descriptive research aims to make systematic, factual, and accurate research (reference) on the facts and characteristics of a particular population, census, community opinion survey, and so on.

study uses (Dhavamony 1995).<sup>2</sup> Whereas to see the public response and motives underlying the phenomenon, the motive theory is used in social psychology.

### History of *Manaqib* And Its Development In Banjar

The word *manaqib* is derived from an Arabic word which has several meanings, including *al-atsar* or trace. It is mentioned that *salk al-manabiq* means through hill roads, or *manaqib al-rijal* meaning good character and good behavior from someone (Munawwir 2002: 1451). The use of words such *Manaqib* is usually associated with a history or biography of the life of someone who was known as a great figure in a society, such as about their struggle, genealogy, morals, *karamah* (dignity or honor) and others. Actually, since ancient times, before, during his lifetime and after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the forerunners of the *manakiban* (the reading of *manaqib*) tradition has already existed and are described in the Qur'an; like *manaqib* History of the Prophets, the wives of the Prophet, his companions and others. Qur'an Surah Ghafir, 78:

“And We have already sent messengers before you. Among them are those [whose stories] We have related to you, and among them are those [whose stories] We have not related to you. And it was not for any messenger to bring a sign [or verse] except by permission of Allah. So when the command of Allah comes, it will be concluded in truth, and the falsifiers will thereupon lose [all].”

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2 There are at least three kinds of phenomenology: 1) transcendental phenomenology, trying to reach knowledge without supposition, as done by E. Husserl. 2) hermeneutic phenomenology, emphasizing the linguistic nature of humans. Text becomes the object of phenomenological analysis. Developed by Hans George Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur. 3) existential phenomenology, emphasizing the analysis of the world of life (life world), namely the whole of human experience surrounded by natural environments, man-made objects and various events of paramount reality.

And also Qur'an Surah al-Nisa' 164:

“And We did not send any messenger except to be obeyed by permission of Allah. And if, when they wronged themselves, they had come to you, [O Muhammad], and asked forgiveness of Allah and the Messenger had asked forgiveness for them, they would have found Allah Accepting of repentance and Merciful.”

If we look into the verses above, the important lessons that we are encouraged to do is to conduct historical research, both derived from al-Qur'an, Hadith, as well as other reliable sources. And then it is recommended to be told to the people (both verbally and in writing). So, consciously or not, this tradition was triggered, carried out and continued based on the guidance of the two main sources of Islamic teachings.

The sign and development of *manaqiban* tradition, in the Indonesian archipelago and especially in South Kalimantan, are influenced by the existence of *tariqa*. The growing *tariqa* in Indonesia are very diverse. However, with regard to *manaqiban* tradition, the most influential *tariqa* is Naqshabandiyyah<sup>3</sup> and Sammaniyah, which in its routine ritual teaches to read the *manaqib* of the founding sheikhs.

Whereas in the land of Banjar, the biggest and most influential *tariqa* was the Sammaniyah. It was founded by Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Kari al-Qadari al-Hasani al-Samman al-Madani. He was born in Medina in 1132H/1719 AD and died in the same city in 1189H/1776 AD then was buried in Baqi' near the tomb of the wives of the Prophet. He spent his life in Medina. He lived in Abu Bakar al-Siddiq's historic house. Al-Samman taught in Madrasah Sanjariyah, which was visited by pupils from distant lands. He was reported to have traveled to Yemen and Egypt in 1174H/1760 AD to establish branches of the Sammaniyah *tariqa* and teach his students about Sammaniyah remembrance (*zikir*) (Azra 1994: 138).

<sup>3</sup> *Tarekat Naqshabandiyyah* teaches the reading ritual of *manaqib*. The founder is Baha' al-Din Naqsyabandi (1317-1388).

In the book *Siyar al-Salikin*, Abd al- Shamad mentions that there are three students of al-Samman who were allowed to teach the Sammaniyah Tariqa. The most famous of which are Shiddiq bin ‘Umar Khan al-Madani, ‘Abd al- Samad and Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari. In a tale is mentioned a number of names of the leading disciples of Sheikh al-Samman, including Indonesians such as that Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Fathani and three Palembang people: Sheikh ‘Abd al-Shamad, Haji Ahmad and Muhyiddin bin Shihabuddin (Bruinessen 1999: 58).

Tariqa Sammaniyah spread to South Kalimantan through Muhammad Sheikh al-Nafis Banjari, because –it was mentioned that- Sheikh M. Arsyad al-Banjari himself did not seem to be a person who has direct contact to spread this tariqa, although he was a student of Syaikh Samman al-Madani. Except that, M. Arsyad al-Banjari had indeed popularized the *qasidah* of Syaikh Samman’s praise which is still being used (Mulyati 2004: 202). Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari did not openly call himself a follower of a *tariqa* like Sammaniyah. But from the book *Kanz al-Ma’rifah*, it is clear that he is a follower of a *tariqa*. Because in his history, it was told that he had studied directly with al-Samman about Sufism/*tariqa*. Therefore, it can be concluded that what he wrote in the book describes the teachings of the Sammaniyah *tariqa* (Mubarak, 2011: 87). It is different from M. Nafis who stressed in his *al-Durr al-Nafis*, that he practiced five *tariqa* in his life, namely Qadiriyyah, Sattariyyah, Naqsyabandiyyah, Khalwatiyyah and Sammaniyah.

Apart from the differences of opinion about who first spread the *tariqa* in Banjar, the Sammaniyah *Tariqa* has only received tremendous acceptance and many followers from the Muslim community of South Kalimantan, after Tuan Guru KH Zaini Abdul Gani (El Kariem 2015: 2)<sup>4</sup> or known as Guru Ijai of Martapura introduced and passed it on to

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4 His full name is Kyai Haji Muhammad Zaini Ghani bin Abdul Ghani bin H. Abdullah bin Mufti H. Muhammad Khalid bin Caliph H. Hasanuddin bin Sheikh

his students. According to one of the *tariqa* followers, Guru Ijai began introducing and passing on the *tariqa* teaching to the Muslim community of South Kalimantan, particularly from Banjar, in 1994. According to the statement, the Sammaniyah Tariqa by Mr. Master KH Zaini Abdul Ghani is a *tariqa* which does not go through Shaykh Abd al-Shammad al-Palimbani and Shaykh Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari, but through Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari. Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad accepted the *tariqa* directly from Shaykh Muhammad al-Samman (Athallah, 2004: 225).

The rapid development of the teachings of the Sammaniyah Tariqa is of course influenced by the charismatic factor of Tuan Guru KH. Muhammad Zaini bin Abdul Ghani who transferred the teachings of the *tariqa* to his chosen students.<sup>5</sup> In addition, an equally important factor is the enormous attention and enthusiasm of the Banjar people towards the religious sciences, especially the spirituality or mental cultivation. That is why *tasawwuf* is very developed. Besides, the Banjar community highly respects Tuan Guru or ulama and holds what is said by them.

South Kalimantan, in ancient times, this *tariqa* was used to fill the fighters mentally in the battle against the Dutch. This could prove that at that time this *tariqa* was a Sufi organization that was used to carry out socio-religious reforms. And it was also for organizing social change by mobilizing the people against the invaders. The existence of this movement also triggered the motivation of the unity of the Banjar residents at that time.

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Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari. In his book he often lists his name as Abû Muhammad Amin Badali. His mother was named Hj. Masliah binti H. Mulya. He was born on Wednesday night, 27 Muharram 1361 H or coincided with 11 February 1942 AD in Martapura.

5 Among the students of KH. M. Zaini bin Abdul Ghani who continued this Sammaniyah order, namely KH. M. Syukeri Unus, K.H. Sofyan Noor bin H. Ahmad Sya'rani, KH. Syamsuri bin H. Muhrid and KH. Gazawar Munawar. The four people were charismatic figures in Martapura, South Kalimantan and opened the recitation which was attended by thousands of students. The students who studied religion at Martapura then spread the teachings to various regions in South Kalimantan.

The rituals conducted by Sammaniyah Tariqa there are many process must be passed: *First*, The process of becoming a member. To become a member of the Sammaniyah Tariqa, as is the case with other congregations, one must go through a procession of blessing. In this process, one must read the allegiance to the shaykh to become *salik* or his student. Second, Read *manaqib*, The reading of the *manaqib* is often carried out in various places, especially Islamic boarding schools, as they once every week read *burdah*, *barzanji*, or *diba'i*. The books are read at certain events in various rituals that accompany a person's life cycle, whether to fulfill the vows, ward off dangers, or also to cast out demons. But actually, the most important thing about reading the book is the hope of getting a lot of rewards. In the ritual of this tariqa, the reading of *manaqib* is also done with the aim of *istighasab*, i.e. asking for help and taking a friendship to Shaykh Samman. In the Arabic Malay version, the book is entitled *Manaqib al-Sheikh al-Waliy al-Syahir Muhammad Samman Radhiyallahu 'anhu* (Mulyati 2004: 200-202).

*Third*, Ratib Samman. In the community, the Sammaniyah *Tariqah* is also known as the *Samman ratib* reading ritual. The reading of the Ratib also has special place among them. They usually do this ritual which takes up to six to seven hours. Although this ritual must be led by *salik* (students of the *tariqa* directly) who have received *bai'at*, but those who participate in this reading may have come from outside the *tariqa* members. They make a circle that surrounds the leader and his followers, sings the remembrance and shows various gestures and movements in the manner shown by the leader (Mulyati 2004: 210-211).

*Fourth*, *Zikr* and the Courtesy of *Zikr*. The practice of remembrance in the Sammaniyah Tariqa consists of *zikr nafi isbat*, *zikr ism al-jalalah*, *zikr al-ism isyarah*, and a special *zikr*, called *Ab Ab*.

Among the rituals taught in the Sammaniyah Tariqa, the most disseminated and blended into local traditions is the reading of *manaqib*, or

what is known as the tradition of *manaqiban*. Common people are proved to be very enthusiastic about this. Even though most of them are not directly related to the allegiance (*bai'at*) of the *tariqa*.

The proof of the fame of the *manaqib* tradition in the South Kalimantan region is the emergence of various works on the books of *manaqib* by Banjarese scholars or ulama outside of Banjar but have links with them, both in the form of translations and their own works using Malay Arabic (*Pegon*) and also Indonesian. This is intended to make it easier for ordinary people to read and understand the book. One example is what was done by KH Syukri bin Unus — the midfielder who was directly having *bai'at* from Tuan Guru Zaini bin Abdul Gani—, he made a translation work on the *manaqib* book of Siti Khadijah. He himself claimed was influenced by Habib Abu Bakar bin Hasan al-Attas. In the preface of the book he said:

“We compiled a *ikhtisar* treatise of the *manaqib* translation by Sayyidah Khadijah al-Kubra for carrying out the order from al-Habib Abu Bakar bin Hasan al-'Attas who has dreamed of meeting Habib Muhammad bin 'Alawi al-Maki who ordered *al-Faqir* so the *manaqib* of Sayyidah Khadijah was translated into Malay Arabic (*Pegon*). The dream Habib Abu Bakar bin Hasan al-'Attas coincides with Wednesday evening, 11 of Ramadan 1419 H after attending the *haul* of Sayyidah Khadijah in the house of *al-Faqir* H. Muhammad Syukri bin Ali bin Unus in Antasan Senor Ilir Martapura.<sup>6</sup>

In addition, K.H. Syukri Unus also translated the *manaqib* of Syekh Abdul Qadir al-Jailani with his book *Nubzah min 'Uqud al-La'ali fi Manaqib al-Quthb al-Rabbani al-Shaykh Abdul Qadir al-Jailani*. Tuan Guru KH Zaini Gani also wrote the *manaqib* of Syaikh Samman in Malay Arabic with his

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<sup>6</sup> See Muhammad Syukri Unus, “Tarjamah Manaaqib Siti Khadijah” book collection, not officially published yet



book *Manaqib Waliyyillah al-Sheikh al-Sayyid Muhammad bin Abdul Karim al-Qaal-Hasani al-Samman al-Madani*.<sup>7</sup>

The contents of the book written by Sheikh Zaini Abdul Gani are, first, Introduction or *muqaddimah*. Second part is the core of Shaykh Sammân *manaqib* which is talking about the character (personality) of Sheikh Samman). Third, about the wills of Sheikh Samman. Fourth, it is mentioned that one who read the *manaqib* of Sheikh Samman once every year in a crowd, accompanied by reading al-Quran, *tahlil*, and charity based on one's ability, then the reward is awarded to Sheikh Sayyid Muhammad Samman, and better still held on the day of his death, then Allah will expand his sustenance, and all one's needs of the world and the hereafter will be achieved. Fifth, prayer and then proceed with *tawassulat al-Sammaniyah* and end with two sentences of KH Muhammad Zaini Ghani which contains a series of teachers who connect him to Shaykh Samman . The first path from Muhammad Amîn al-Kutbi and the second path from Sheikh Muhammad Syarwani (Abdan al-Banjar i (Mubarak 2011: 97).

It is different from the Ibnul Amin Islamic Boarding School in Pamangkih, South Kalimantan. This boarding school holds regular weekly lectures, and prior to the lectures, there will be reading or recitals of *Manaqib 100 Wali Allah Ta'ala*. This book also uses Malay Arabic, and is a collection of *manaqibs* of the characters in a brief manner, both figures of the Archipelago - such as Wali Songo etc. - and also the companions of the Prophet, compiled by al-Sayyid 'Ismail bin Hamid bin' Ali Ba'abud (Ba'abud 2014).

Then the works about *manaqib* emerged. These works are of the Banjar clerics themselves. Like *manaqib* Datu Sanggul written by Tim

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<sup>7</sup> This book was written by K.H. Muhammad Zaini Ghani using Malay Arabic letters written by hand 24 pages thick, which was published by Mathba'ah Raudhah Banjarbaru. It is not certain when this book was written, but from sources obtained, it is estimated that this book has been around since 1996.

Sahabat, *manaqib* Tuan Guru KH Muhammad Zaini bin Abdul Gani written by KH Ahmad Bakeri, and others that are routinely read out on *haul* events or memorial of the date of death of each character. The difference between the *manaqib* that we found today and the above *manaqib* is that the language. If previously *manaqib* uses Malay Arabic, the *manaqib* which was written later uses Indonesian.

The time for reading *manaqib* often when *haul* of each clerics like *Manaqib Siti Khadijah* held on 10/11 Ramadan, the date of her death. The same is also for Shaykh Abdul Qadir al-Jailani, Sheikh Samman, and others. In several informal routine gatherings are read the three *manaqib*. Many people also hold a special event by inviting local residents to read out the names of the three figures to commemorate their *haul* in hopes of getting a blessing from them. In addition, the reading of the *manaqib* of the three figures above is also often read at certain times. For example, when there is *nadzar*, celebration, *tasmiyahan* (name giving ritual to a child), etc.

### **Meaning and Motive of *Manaqib* Reading In The Life of The Community of Banjar**

The phenomenon of *manaqib* has become a living practice in the community, so long as it does not violate the norms, it will be assessed as a form of diversity of practices recognized in the community. The practices of Muslims in society is basically influenced by the strong role religious figures, however, sometimes the community or the individual is no longer aware that it came from the text, both the Qur'an and the Hadith. This can be understood given that the community learns through books such as *fiqh*, *muamalah*, *akhlak*, *tasawwuf* and other books, while in the books are not mentioned if the law or practice comes from the Qur'an or hadith (Qudsi 2016: 181-182).

It can be said that when the practice study or practice of the text is carried out in the practice room, the text should have been found first, realized by the practitioner, or at least there is a strong suspicion of the practice based on the Qur'an or the prophetic traditions in a society. But the reality turned out to be different. This was concluded after the author interviewed several informants in the Banjar community, in this case the present study focuses on community leaders in the Hulu Sungai Tengah district - who also continue to study directly with KH Zaini Abdul Ghani-, even though almost all districts in South Kalimantan practice the reading of *manaqib*. In addition, there were also several informants from the community, but were still familiar with the tradition of *manaqib*.

According to the statements of several figures, the tradition of reading *manaqib* in Banjar has long been done. H. Nahrawi (64 years old) said that the tradition of reading *manaqib* had existed since he was a child. The famous *manaqib* of the period was *manaqib* Syaikh Abdul Qadir al-Jailani, Syaikh Samman and Siti Khadijah al-Kubra. So, this tradition has indeed been passed down from decades ago. However, most people do not know for certain the origin of this tradition.

Meanwhile, Guru Haji Nashruddin - graduated from Darussalam Martapura Islamic Boarding School - said:

“This reading of *manaqib* is the legacy of our former teachers, and the ritual of the *tariqa*. They teach that loving ulama is a must, both those who are still alive and those who have passed away. For those who already passed away, one of the ways is to know the history of their lives, by reading their *manaqib*. There is a verse of the Qur'an that underlies our ability to read the *manaqib*. I often recite this verse before reading the *manaqib* at events.”<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Interview with Guru Nashruddin, on May 20, 2018 at 10.00 WITA. At certain times, he routinely reads the names of the ulamas in accordance with the time of his haul, such as where the Shaykh Abdul Qadir al-Jailani, Sekh Samman, Siti Khadijah, Tuan Guru Zaini Abdul Gani, and others. In addition, he is also often

He then read one of the verses of the Qur'an

“And remember thou (O Muhammad) the brother of the ‘Ad (Hud) when he reminded his people of the dunes ...”<sup>9</sup>

According to him, the meaning of the verse above is, we are told to always remember the stories of the example of the Apostle or figures of righteous people in ancient times. This is so that we never forget to emulate them, one of them is through reading the *manaqib* which has been specially written.

In contrast to Guru Junaidi, -one of the teachers at Ibnul Amin Pamangkih Islamic Boarding School-, he mentioned that one of the principles or virtues of reading *manaqib* is to love the *salihin*, *auliya'*, and others. Like the advice of the Prophet Muhammad explained in the hadith «Whoever enmity to my *wali* (friend), then I declare the war against him».<sup>10</sup> In addition, he added:

‘One of *tariqa* doctrines is *tawassul*. This is indeed commonly practiced in any order. From my teachers, I hear very often, there are traditions which mention that “*dzikru al-auliya' tanzilu al-rahmah*”, which means “by remembering/calling the miracles of *Wali Allah*, Allah will shower him with an abundant of mercy. Syekh Samman, - in his *manaqib* - also advised to do *wasilah* to him.”<sup>11</sup>

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invited by the surrounding community to read *manaqib* on events such as *tasmiyahan* (giving a child's name), or because of *nadzar* / a certain purpose.

9 In the book *Manakib 100 Para Wali Allah Ta'ala* which uses Arabic Malay written by Al-Sayyid Isma'il bin Hamid bin' Ali Ba'abud is found a different translation of this verse. That is interpreted as “Call by you O Muhammad will be the stories (*manaqib*) of Prophet Hud in the land of al-Ahqaf (Hadramaut). The translation here is more specific to legitimize the argument for obtaining the reading of the figures of the previous figures.

10 Hadith narrated by al-Bukhari from Abu Hurairah

11 Interview with Guru Junaidi on 21 May at 09.00 AM WITA (Indonesia Central Standard Time)

According to H.A. Asyikin, a resident in Hulu Sungai Tengah, “*Fadilah* or virtue of the *manaqib* readings is as said by our Tuan Guru Sekumpul -KH M. Zaini Abdul Ghani Martapura- while he was alive, to love and respect the Prophet Muhammad’s descendants. Guru Sekumpul always reminded us of the word of *Allah* in *surah* Ash-Shura, verse 23. “Say: ‘I do not ask you for any reward for my appeal except affection in the family.’” The logic is like this, he said, that someone who loves or respects his own family is highly praised by *Allah*; let alone love and respect the family of Prophet Muhammad PBUH, someone who is loved by God Almighty. By means of loving the guardians of *Allah* or the descendants of His beloved, may we also be loved by the Creator of beings.”

Meanwhile, Hj. Nor Ainun has her own experience regarding reading *manaqib*. She is very diligent in attending various kinds of *manaqib* recitation. According to her, the *manaqib* which are most often recited are *manaqib* Syekh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani, *manaqib* Syekh Samman al-Madani and *manaqib* Siti Khadijah. She reads it together with other people and also on her own, according to the desired purpose. According to her statement, when she was in the land of Haram, Makkah and Madinah, especially when she was in Baqi’, the burial complex where Khadijah was buried, it was very good to read the *manaqib* of Siti Khadijah. With conditions, it must be with *haqq al-yaqin*. With the reading of the *manaqib*, it is sincerely intended that she can continue to return to the Land of Haram, not only herself, but also her grandchildren, if God’s willing, she will continue to be able to make a pilgrimage there. And it happened to her. From the range of 2008 to 2018, only a year did she not set foot on the Holy Land.<sup>12</sup>

According to H. Abdul kadir, when asked about how much influence the *Manaqib Wali* reading in everyday life, he replied:

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12 Interview with Hj. Nor Ainun, on 5 June 2018, at 10.00 AM WITA

“As we know, the *manaqib* which is read aloud in the teachings includes *manaqib* Syekh Samman al-Madani. According to the story of my teacher, since childhood he has had extraordinary *karamah*. Every time Shaykh Samman’s mother serves food, and then he ate it, the food stayed the same. Then again, his famous *karamah* story, even though he had passed away, one day someone sailed to the land of Hijaz. When he reached the edge of the sea he saw the pitch-black cloud coming strong hurricane until his ship was nearly drown, a sense of fear of the extreme. He then shouted with all his might, “Yaa Sammaan.....” 3 times. Then arrived there were two people who came and held both sides of his boat, and the wind calmed down, and he could safely landed on the land of Hijaz. Based on this *manaqib*, I am sure, with Allah’s permission, if we are in a difficulty or in distress, we ask for help from one of them, at least by taking part in God’s guardianship. Especially if we routinely read the *manaqib* at certain times.”<sup>13</sup>

Hj. Khairiyah, a trader who always carries out the reading of Siti Khadijah *manaqib* every 10-11 Ramadan, said that her motivation for implementing *manaqib* was the belief that by reading *manaqib*, it could expand fortune and expedite all her efforts. It is also intended for the event of *silaturrahmi* (visit and bond with fellow Muslims) and giving charity to the guests in attendance, serving them with good food, especially in the month of Ramadan; a greater reward to give charity to people who are breaking their fasts. She also pays her *zakat maal*, with the hope that by giving almsgiving on behalf of her property, the property shall also get the blessing.<sup>14</sup>

Statements from informants are in accordance with Guru Sekumpul in his works, which is the book of Sheikh Samman *Manaqib*. In this book,

13 Interview with H. Abdul Kadir, on 10 June 2018, at 9.00 AM WITA

14 Interview with Hj. Khairiyah, on 10 June 2018, at 17.00 AM WITA

it is mentioned that it is useful to read *manaqib* of Syekh Samman:

“Whoever permits reading where the Master of Shaykh Muhammad al-Samman is present every year with many people and reading the Quran and *tablil* and charity then give the rewards to the Master Syekh Sayyid Muhammad al-Samman and do it on the day of his death, then Allah will expand his good provision and God will grant all of his wishes *min umur al-dunya wa al-akhirah* (Abdul Gani, n.d.: 17-18).

Likewise, what was conveyed by KH Shukri bin Unus in his translation book on *manaqib* of Syekh Abdul Qadir al-Jailani, he said:

“People who read *Manaqib* Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani 1) will be facilitated with fortune to the fourth generation descendants, 2) will be granted with world and the hereafter wishes, 3) will be blessed by Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Jailani if reading his *manaqib* when having a wish by solemnly promising to read *Manaqib* Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani, 4) must be reading it with many people as well as giving charity, recite the Qur’an and *tablil* and doing them all sincerely.” (Unus, n.d.)

The observation of the informants can be analyzed that a direct teaching from a teacher from the teacher institutes effect on society reception actors reading *manaqib* tradition of Shaykh Abdul Qadir Jilani, either public figures or the general public. This is evidenced by the fact that the majority of the perpetrators of the tradition of reading *manaqib* - in this case ordinary people - do not fully understand what they are reading, but judge *manaqib* as a book that contains various principles. Trust in the existence of *faidah*, obtained from their *tariqa* teacher. Second, this ritual is also a form of *ma’asi versus papadaban Guru (ta’zim* or respect towards Teacher’s advice), even though they are not directly involved with the *bai’at* (allegiance) of *tariqa*. Third, the ritual of reading the *Manaqib* of these figures by the people who practice the tradition of reading *Manaqib* is almost equated with the ritual of the futures worship. Fourth, the story of the miracle

told in the book of *manaqib* is considered true and is believed to be part of *karamah* of the guardians of *Allah* given by *Allah* Himself.

From social psychology point of view, human motives to do something can be divided into three kinds. First is bio-genetic motive which comes from the needs of the organism for the continuation of its life. Second is socio-genetic motive. This is a motive that develops from the cultural environment in which the person is located. Therefore, this motive does not develop by itself, but is influenced by the environment of local culture and tradition. Third is theological motive. In this motive, humans are creatures with needs, so there is an interaction between humans and their God to realize norms according to their religion (Gerungan 1996: 142-144). In this case, religious behavior in the community can be one of the ways to realize it.

The sources that can cause motives can be divided into two, intrinsic and extrinsic motives. Intrinsic motive does not require external stimulation because it originates from the individual itself, which is in accordance with their needs, while extrinsic motive arises because there are stimuli from outside the individual (Uno 2007: 4).

Based on the above theory, social behavior can be analyzed in the community, in this case the tradition of *manaqib* reading. Factors that influence the phenomenon of reading *manaqib* which has taken root in a tradition run by this community are at least converging into two motives. First, socio-genetic motive. Someone does it because it is influenced by the cultural environment in which the person is located. When someone sees the tradition of reading *manaqib* as good and does not violate the prevailing norms, the tendency will be stronger. It is evident that not all the people reading the *manaqib* are followers of a *tariqa*.

Likewise with many past cases, the commoners actually do not know the text of a hadith. In general, only agents who have a very important role understand the text. Agents here are understood as people who have access



to certain knowledge and convey it to others; like *ulama*, *ustaz*, community leaders, and so on. According to Clifford Geertz, these figures are referred to as cultural brokers. Many of the agents also get one understanding of one practice not from direct hadith, but from *fiqh*, *kalam*, and *aqeedah*, even the *mujarabat* books. The *muṣannif* of these books concoct various foundations of the Qur'an and hadith in one legal product, rules, values, and guidelines, as the finished product. This means that the influence of extrinsic factors is very dominating.

*Second*, theological motives are obviously very strong. Humans are creatures with needs, both physical and spiritual. Humans without a handle (religion and belief) will certainly be fragile. When this theological motive is strong, the motivation to find peace and inner peace is reflected in its religious behaviors, so that there is an interaction between man and his God to realize norms according to his religion. This is also the case with the phenomenon of *manaqib* reading. Awareness to further enhance their self-motivation is to read the stories or biographies of previous scholars. That way, their theological needs are fulfilled, whether it is intrinsic or extrinsic.

### ***Manaqib* Phenomenon: A Form of Religious Text Sanctification**

It cannot be denied that Islam was born in the midst of a society that is accustomed to glorifying an object that is considered “holy”, and can provide a great beam of energy in their lives. But then Islam gave a more rational reason in the concept of monotheism offered to people across the ages (Hawting 1999).

The concept of monotheism rationale offered by the advent of Islam which was immersed with the foregoing traditions and cultures, as well as a more or less remain affected by the way of thinking of the society before Islam, especially in Indonesia. Religious behavior cannot

be separated from the terms “sacred” and “profane”. “Sacred” is derived from religious rituals that are changing moral values into religious symbols which manifested into something real. Society creates religion by defining certain phenomena as something sacred, while others are considered profane (common or usual occurrence), “Sacred” is what is considered as different from everyday events that make up the essence of religion. Whereas “profane” is an event that commonly occurs in society that does not have sacred values. Something profane can be sacred if the people also glorify and sanctify it (Durkheim 1974: 52).

For instance, many places are considered sacred, for example a spring, grave or mosque. They claim these places sacred based on mythology. It means that the sacredness seems to be man-made. No exception to the reading of *manaqib* or the stories of the characters who are the subject of this discussion. Springs, tombs and mosques are considered sacred because they are the inheritance of the *Wali*. So even with *manaqib* which indeed contains *karamah* or the privileges of the guardians of Allah, even some are also written directly by the *ulama* who are believed to be *Wali*.

To be sacred, it must fulfill the requirements as something sacred, such as: it is indeed something that is worthy of sacredness and its sacredness is inherent depending on who deserves to be sacred, such as the people who spread Islam who is believed to possess supernatural advantages (Fitri 2012: 13).

In sociology, Emile Durkheim’s theory, also known as the four main pillars supporting a civilized society, are the sacred, classification, rites and solidarity. Holiness or sanctity as the ultimate value of a community is not only maintained by punishment or ostracism and negative social labels, but also with the rite. Unity built on the basis of the common interests of the holy one will bore a social rite. People support themselves from and to sacredness. Celebrations and cultural or religious events can be referred

to as rites. Rites are held collectively and regularly so that the community is refreshed and returned to collective knowledge and meanings. Rites are mediation for the community to remain in the sacred (Sutrisno dan Putranto 2005: 96).

The nerves of consciousness are touched back to something sacred. Because usually, the sacred is more easily accepted and not questioned, if it is made as a “myth” that is sacred and contains sacred values and collective meanings (Sutrisno dan Putranto 2005: 97). There is no exception to the phenomenon of *manaqib* reading tradition. This is affected by the sacred figures of the Guardians of God, both the author of the book or the characters in the story. However, according to the present paper, this is a form of positively charged collective meaning. Because, reciting regularly, the awareness of religious behavior is refreshed, as well as mediation towards a positive attitude, as long as it is not a cult, even in this case it is kind of like taqdis al-nas} wa al- Fikr (text and thoughts sanctification), but this is better than taqdis al-khat (sacralization of *kebat* or Arabic letters) which is considered too much<sup>15</sup>. Our duty is to minimize the chance of it being too much.

## Conclusion

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that the tradition of *manaqib* reading located in South Kalimantan, especially in Banjar community is a tradition that has been passed down from earlier Banjarese scholars and still remains in existence up until now. Some of the reasons are that this *manaqib* tradition is socio-genetic and theological, both intrinsically and extrinsically. From the interviews with the informants,

15 In fact, there are still many Muslims who are culturing everything that has anything to do with Arabic, such as picking up immediately when seeing Arabic letters written on a paper falling down. The latest shocking phenomenon is the production of Muslim clothing that uses Arabic letters. Not a few people protested this. In fact, it is clearly different between the verses of the Qur’an in Arabic. Because the Qur’an does speak Arabic, but not all Arabic is the Qur’an.

it was found that, first, a direct teaching from the scholars affect the society reception towards *manaqib* reading tradition. They also belief in the existence of *faidah* (benefit) obtained from their *tariqa* teacher. Second, this ritual is also a form of *ma'asi lawan papadahan Guru* (respect a teacher's advice), even though they are not directly involved with the allegiance of *tariqa*. Third, the ritual of reading the *manaqib* of these figures by the people who practice the tradition of reading *manaqib* is almost equated with the ritual of the regular worship. Fourth, the stories of the miracles told in the *manaqib* books are considered true and are believed to be part of the *karamah* of the guardians of *Allah* given by *Allah*.

This phenomenon of reading *manaqib* is a tradition as well as an act of sanctification of religious texts. A profane thing can be sacred when it pertains to something that is considered sacred, in this case affected by the figures of *Wali Allah*, both the author of the books or the characters that are in the stories.

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