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Preserving Heritage: The Tradition of Manakib Recitation among Banjar Women

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Abstract

This paper examines local culture and traditions as representations or means of accommodation for the socio-economic and cultural expectations of the Banjar community, particularly among women. Specifically, this paper explores how the Banjar community, especially Banjar women, build, grow, and transform knowledge through the reading of Siti Khadijah's *manaqib*. The recitation of Siti Khadijah's *manaqib* is a tradition among Banjar women, and it is performed on various occasions during specific religious rituals. In particular, the recitation of Siti Khadijah's *manaqib* is also routinely carried out in religious institutions on the 11th day of each Hijri month. Banjar women in this study play an active role in socio-cultural transformation. An important finding in this study is that religious institutions, especially the ritual of reading Siti Khadijah's *manaqib*, are a dynamic expression of Banjar women's social and economic spirit. Through religious institutions, primarily through the ritual of reading Siti Khadijah's *manaqib*, women play a role in dynamizing the economy and teaching worldly asceticism. Siti Khadijah's reading of *manaqib* reflects how local communities foster and raise hopes for prosperity, ensuring the sustainability of life and society.

[Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji budaya dan tradisi lokal sebagai representasi lokal atau sarana akomodasi atas harapan-harapan sosial ekonomi budaya masyarakat Banjar khususnya perempuan. Secara khusus, tulisan ini mencoba menggali cara-cara masyarakat Banjar, khususnya perempuan Banjar dalam membangun, menumbuhkan dan mentransformasikan pengetahuan melalui pembacaan *manakib* Siti Khadijah. Pembacaan *manakib* Siti Khadijah tersebut mentradisi di kalangan perempuan Banjar yang dilakukan di berbagai kesempatan ketika dilaksanakan ritual keagamaan tertentu. Terkhusus pembacaan *manakib* Siti Khadijah ini juga rutin dilaksanakan di institusi *Pangajian* setiap tanggal 11 menurut penanggalan hijriyah di setiap bulannya. Perempuan Banjar dalam kajian tersebut berperan aktif dalam proses transformasi sosial budaya. Temuan penting dalam penelitian ini yaitu lembaga *Pangajian* khususnya ritual pembacaan *manakib* Siti Khadijah menjadi ungkapan dinamis dan semangat sosial dan ekonomi dari perempuan Banjar. Melalui lembaga *Pangajian*, khususnya melalui ritual pembacaan *manaqib* Siti Khadijah, perempuan turut berperan dalam mendinamiskan ekonomi dan mengajarkan asketisme dunia. Pembacaan *manaqib* Siti Khadijah mencerminkan cara-cara masyarakat lokal dalam menumbuhkan dan membangkitkan harapan akan kesejahteraan untuk keberlangsungan kehidupan dan masyarakat.]

Keywords: local wisdom; recitation; ritual; reading *manakib*

Introduction

Tradition is a crucial element that reflects a society's identity. In anthropology, tradition is defined as customs, specifically magical and religious habits, that are part of a society. Tradition includes interrelated cultural values, norms, and rules that form an established system. This system is part of the concept of culture and regulates various aspects of social life, functioning to direct social actions and interactions within society.¹

Among the Banjar people, various traditions have emerged from a dialectical process between text and local culture, thus giving rise to a unique ritual with local expression. This tradition can also offer insight into how local people think and provide an overview of their community's dreams and hopes. Even tradition can be a transformative medium through the actors who embody it.

One of the traditions widely practiced in Banjar society is the reading of humanity, which is carried out in *Pangajian* institutions. *Pangajian* has long been present and has grown as a religious and educational institution in Banjar society, especially in South Kalimantan. *Pangajian*, as an informal educational institution in this area, has been a tradition since the 18th century.² The study also served as a precursor to establishing an educational institution in this area, later known as the Punduk Pesantren. Initially introduced by a penghulu from Demak, Khatib Dayyan, the study system was then developed by Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari into a system that approached the pesantren institution. He created a new teaching and learning model, where studies that were previously carried out at home, in a prayer room, or at the king's palace were now conducted in a complex that included a prayer room, a space for teaching and learning, and a dormitory for the students.³

At the beginning of its presence, *Pangajian* was more oriented towards learning religious knowledge and conveying religious teachings. In its development, *Pangajian* also incorporated various

¹ Ariyono Suyono and Aminuddin Siregar, *Kamus Antropologi* (Jakarta: Akademika Pressindo, 1985).

² Abdul Hafiz Anshari, "Peran Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari di dalam Pengembangan Islam di Kalimantan Selatan," *Majalah Ilmiah Keagamaan dan Kemasyarakatan Khazanah*, February 2002.

³ Alfani Daud, *Islam Dan Masyarakat Banjar : Diskripsi Dan Analisa Kebudayaan Banjar* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 1997).

traditions as an accommodation to the community's wishes and a reflection on the diverse knowledge and religious teachings that had been studied.

Although Islamic teachings were predominantly attended by men in the early development history of South Kalimantan, women have also begun to actively participate in the transformation process within this institution over time. In the past, the recitation was often led by a pious male teacher with extensive religious knowledge, typically from an Islamic boarding school or a sitting mangaji. Now, many women serve as teachers or leaders of the recitation. Like male teachers, female teachers in Islamic studies impart various aspects of religious knowledge, including monotheism, *fiqh*, and tasawwuf, referencing a book considered *mu'tabaroh* to their students. Women's recitations are usually carried out regularly in mosques, langgars, or at the home of the teacher concerned, or what is commonly called a recitation assembly. This women's study can be followed by anyone, regardless of age, educational background, or status. Students need to listen to what the teacher says. Those who already understand Arabic writing or script will bring a book taught by the teacher so that, in addition to listening, they will also pay attention to the book's contents.

This article will examine the tradition of reciting manakib among Banjar women in religious study institutions. The involvement of women in this tradition offers an insight into the role of women in the socio-cultural transformation process among the Banjar people, particularly through religious study institutions, as exemplified by Mrs. Hajjah Nafsiyah's work in Sekumpul. This religious study is particularly notable because it is led and conducted by a female teacher with a sizable congregation. As of 2024, the number of members in this study group was approximately 1,500, as recorded in the membership book of the religious study group. However, the attendance at each religious study activity was typically around 500 people or approximately 50 percent. However, before further discussing the tradition of reciting manakib in this study group, the history of women's religious studies in this area will be explained.

Figure 1. Khairun Nisa Study Congregation until 2024



Source: Personal Documentation 2025

Methods

The approach employed in this study is cultural, utilizing qualitative methods. Qualitative methods describe local cultural events in depth, which are then interpreted to find the meaning behind the event.⁴ The local culture described in this study is the tradition of reciting the Siti Khodijah manakib among women at the Khairun Nisa Sekumpul religious study group. The key informants in this study were the leaders of the religious study group, the teachers who provided the learning, and several congregations considered knowledgeable and intensely involved in the religious study activities.

The data sources used were the statements of the community, particularly the Khairun Nisa religious study group, which consisted entirely of women, regarding their involvement in reciting the Siti Khodijah manakib during the religious study group sessions. In addition, data was also obtained from observations and documentation of the manakib reading activities, both the procession and the reception,

⁴ Sugiyono Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan Pendekatan Kuantitatif, Kualitatif Dan R&D* (Alfabeta, 2022).

especially in routine activities carried out every 11th of the Hijri calendar every month during the period 2020-2025.^{5 6}

Result

The Tradition of Study: A Theoretical and Historical Review

The study of cultural heritage in Islam in Indonesia has been around for quite some time. Like Islamic boarding schools, the study is not only an institution of preaching and education but also an Islamic culture itself. This is because the basic character of Islamic civilization upholds education. Therefore, education does not become a didactic process but rather a mode of being in Islam.⁷

Pangajian originates from the verb “mengaji,” which means studying religious knowledge with a person considered a religious expert.⁸ In simple terms, *Pangajian* is defined as a structured activity that specifically conveys Islamic teachings to improve understanding, appreciation, and practice of Islamic teachings. *Pangajian* is generally characterized by the following things: (a) the material delivered contains Islamic teachings; (b) it is carried out periodically and regularly; (c) it uses lecture, question and answer, and simulation methods; (d) it is generally carried out in religious study groups; (e) there are ustadz figures who are the instructors; and (f) has the aim of improving understanding, appreciation, and practice of Islamic teachings among its congregation.⁹

⁵ Wahyudin Darmalaksana, “Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Studi Pustaka dan Studi Lapangan,” *Digital Library UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung*, 2020, <http://digilib.uinsgd.ac.id/id/eprint/32855>.

⁶ Bungin Burhan, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif: Aktualisasi Metodologis Ke Arah Ragam Varian Kontemporer* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2017).

⁷ Mukhibat Mukhibat, “Meneguhkan Kembali Budaya Pesantren Dalam Merajut Lokalitas, Nasionalitas, Dan Globalitas,” *KARSA Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* 23, no. 2 (December 1, 2015): 177–92, <https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v23i2.717>.

⁸ Alfisyah Alfisyah, “Pengajian Dan Transformasi Sosiokultural Dalam Masyarakat Muslim Tradisionalis Banjar,” *KOMUNIKA: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi* 3, no. 1 (2009): 75–89, <https://doi.org/10.24090/komunika.v3i1.116>.

⁹ Ahmad Sarbini, “Internalisasi Nilai Keislaman Melalui Majelis Taklim,” *Ilmu Dakwah: Academic Journal for Homiletic Studies* 5, no. 16 (2010): 53–70, <https://doi.org/10.15575/idajhs.v5i16.355>.

Pangajian is also sometimes equated with the term Majelis Taklim, which is interpreted as a community-based learning center (or community-based Islamic learning center) that influences people towards a better direction, especially in religious teachings and moral strengthening.¹⁰ The Majelis Taklim encompasses all activities of the Muslim community related to Islamic religious education and teaching without being limited by gender, social status of its congregation, place, or implementation time. Meanwhile, the Indonesian Ministry of Religion defines the Majelis Taklim as an institution that organizes non-formal education in the field of Islamic religion for adults, generally carried out periodically, once a week, in assembly halls or meeting rooms. The Majelis Taklim is characterized by several things, namely: (a) in the form of a non-formal Islamic religious teaching institution, (b) having regular and regular activities, (3) having a relatively large number of congregations and generally consisting of adults, (d) there are central figures who manage and become role models, and (e) have the aim of fostering Muslim people who are faithful, knowledgeable, moral and pious to Allah SWT.¹¹

In the South Kalimantan region, the tradition of religious study institutions dates back to the 18th century, and it cannot be separated from Islam entry into the land of Banjar.¹² Islam entered and spread intensively in the Banjar region in the early 16th century, like its spread in Java, primarily through the intermediation of traders, preachers, and Sufis.¹³ Islam entered South Kalimantan to some extent between the end of the 13th century and the 15th century.¹⁴ It is possible, as Muslim traders were already present in this area then. As a religion, Islam had begun to be known to the local community through Muslim traders. Still, its teachings were probably not widely known due to the absence

¹⁰ Agus Fatuh Widoyo et al., "Taksonomi Pendidikan Islam dalam Regulasi Dakwah Majelis Taklim di Indonesia," *Ta'dib Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 13, no. 1 (April 4, 2024): 121–30, <https://doi.org/10.29313/tjpi.v13i1.13541>.

¹¹ Lulu Firdaus Ramadhani and Cecep Castrawijaya, "Membangun Lembaga Dakwah yang Inovatif di Era Disruptif," *Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin Ilmu* 2, no. 1 (February 1, 2025): 08–12, <https://doi.org/10.69714/6xsafz40>.

¹² Anshari, "Peran Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari di dalam Pengembangan Islam di Kalimantan Selatan."

¹³ Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: tradisi dan modernisasi menuju milenium baru* (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 1999).

¹⁴ Yusliani Noor, "Islamisasi Banjarmasin (Abad XV-XIX)," *JURNAL SOCIUS* 2, no. 1 (April 20, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.20527/jurnalsocius.v2i1.2199>.

of systematic preaching. Abdullah doubted that Muslim traders who were so busy and more interested in seeking profit had the interest and ability to spread Islam.¹⁵ Therefore, the ulama and Sufis have played a more significant role than traders in the Islamization of the South Kalimantan region.¹⁶

The intensive spread of Islam in Banjar began with the conversion of Pangeran Samudra, also known as Sultan Suriansyah, the first king to reside in Banjarmasin. It occurred after Pangeran Samudra, with the assistance of the Demak army, successfully won the war against his uncle, Raden Tumenggung, who ruled the State of Daha. Along with sending army aid, the Sultan of Demak also included a prince known as Khatib Dayyan.¹⁷

Khatib Dayyan seeks to spread Islam through teaching various Islamic knowledge to the Banjar people. So far, sufficient information has not been found to describe Khatib Dayyan's contribution to the spread of Islam in Banjar, particularly regarding the target group, materials, and preaching methods. However, considering Khatib Dayyan's background and arrival at the same time as the sending of reinforcements from Demak, it is possible that his Islamization was still limited to the elite layer in Banjar society, especially in the palace circles. Meanwhile, Islamization among most people in rural areas was probably carried out by Sufis. In inland areas, graves of religious figures are often found accompanied by myths about their sacredness and services in spreading Islam. A more in-depth study will perhaps reveal the existence and role of Sufis in the Islamization of rural areas.^{18 19 20}

Despite the limitations of historical sources available for reconstructing the history of Islamization in Banjar, the preaching of Khatib Dayyan and the Sufis was quite successful. The Banjar

¹⁵ Yusliani Noor, "Sejarah Perkembangan Islam Di Banjarmasin Dan Peran Kesultanan Banjar (Abad XV-XIX)," *Al-Banjari: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 11, no. 2 (2012): 239–63.

¹⁶ Mansyur Mansyur, Mursalin Mursalin, and Wisnu Subroto, *Sahang Banjar: Banjarmasin dalam jalur perdagangan rempah lada dunia abad ke-18* (Banjarmasin: Arti Bumi Intaran Bekerjasama dengan Pemerintah Kota Banjarmasin, 2019).

¹⁷ M. Suriansyah Ideham et al., eds., *Sejarah Banjar*, 1st ed. (Banjarmasin: Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Daerah Provinsi Kalimantan Selatan., 2003).

¹⁸ Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: tradisi dan modernisasi menuju milenium baru*.

¹⁹ Ahmad Barjie, *Cuplikan Sejarah Banjar* (Banjarbaru: Penakita Publisher, 2018).

²⁰ Ideham et al., *Sejarah Banjar*.

community has widely embraced Islamic teachings, and since the 17th century, many Banjar people have begun performing the pilgrimage to Mecca. In addition to performing the pilgrimage, they studied Islamic knowledge with scholars from Mecca. Upon returning to their hometowns, they taught the knowledge they had acquired to the Banjar community, incorporating material content and methods found in Islamic teachings in Mecca. Since then, the religious teaching system known as *Pangajian* has been established in Banjar society.^{21 22}

Although Islamic teachings have been widely adhered to, they are generally only limited to Malays; Islam was only able to penetrate very slowly among the Dayak tribe. Even among Malay Muslims, adherence to Islam is minimal and does not go beyond reciting the shahadah. Under the sultans from one generation to the next, until the time of Muhammad Arsyad, it was clear that the rulers made no serious efforts to advance Islamic life. However, they used Arabic script for the Sultanate's correspondence with other Malay-Indonesian rulers, the Dutch, and the British. Apart from that, there were also efforts made by itinerant preachers to Islamize this region further, but there was little progress.^{23 24}

As further developed through religious studies, Islamic teaching gained prominence during Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjary (1710-1812), a great scholar considered a pioneer in disseminating Islamic teachings in Banjar, which originated from Mecca. The lessons at that time included the science of fiqh, the science of Tawhid, and the science of Sufism, which was presented lightly. In addition, some people wanted to deepen their religious knowledge by passively studying the Arabic language. Additionally, lessons were provided to learn how to read the Qur'an.²⁵ This study was conducted in homes and

²¹ Ideham et al.

²² Ramli Nawawi, M. Idwar Saleh, and Ahmad Gazali Usman, *Sejarah Pendidikan Daerah Kalimantan Selatan* (Banjarmasin: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, Proyek Penelitian, Pengkajian, dan Pembinaan Nilai-Nilai Budaya, 1992).

²³ Bambang Subiyakto, "Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari: Upaya dan Ajaran Nilai-Nilai Karakter dalam Pendidikan Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial" (Disertasi, Bandung, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2015).

²⁴ Azra, Azyumardi, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2013).

²⁵ Tim Penulis Sahabat, *Cerita Datu-Datu Terkenal Kalimantan Selatan* (Kandangan: Penerbit SAHABAT, 2011).

prayer rooms, involving groups of children and adults. During the period of Arsyad al-Banjary, the study was more oriented towards teaching the Qur'an. In addition to reading, memorizing, and singing the Qur'an, teaching was accompanied by understanding the contents through lessons in Arabic, interpretation, *tajwid*, *khat*, and calligraphy. The latter was Arsyad's expertise. The learning of *fiqh* is arranged systematically, from *thaharah* to *haji*. In the field of *tauhid*, various theological schools within Islam were discussed, examining the concept of faith in all its aspects. In teaching Sufism, Arsyad preferred Sufism that was still acceptable to the *shari'a* rather than those that contradicted it. In addition, he taught the science of *falak* (astronomy), a field that made him one of the most prominent experts in the Malay-Indonesian ulama. In this context, reading *manaqib* has not become part of the *Pangajian* tradition practiced by Arsyad.^{26 27}

Although Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjary emphasized Islamic teachings on the religious aspect, through his studies, he also paid attention to factors related to improving social welfare. An example is the introduction of an irrigation farming system studied in Dalam Pagar Village that utilizes the river that divides Sungai Tuan Village in the Martapura area. The river that divides Sungai Tuan Village in the Martapura area is the result of a transformation carried out by Arsyad in agriculture and the environment.²⁸

The religious studies conducted by Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad revealed that his learning did not fully adhere to the religious studies system implemented by his teachers during his time in Mecca. In the religious studies program, he provided lessons in religious theory and practice and directly guided his students in organizing their future lives. In other words, the religious studies of Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad

²⁶ Subiyakto, "Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari: Upaya dan Ajaran Nilai-Nilai Karakter dalam Pendidikan Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial."

²⁷ Muhammad Azmi, "Islam di Kalimantan Selatan Pada Abad Ke-15 Sampai Abad Ke -17," *Yupa: Historical Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (July 31, 2017): 38–47, <https://doi.org/10.30872/yupa.v1i1.89>.

²⁸ Subiyakto, "Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari: Upaya dan Ajaran Nilai-Nilai Karakter dalam Pendidikan Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial."

aimed to prepare individuals who were knowledgeable about religion and could stand on their own in society.²⁹

It is said that the religious studies conducted by Sheikh Arsyad were attended by men and opened to women. These religious studies produced religious figures who then spread to all corners of Banjar and other areas in Kalimantan and Sumatra. One proof of the significant influence of religious studies held by Arsyad on the Banjar community is that the *Buku Parukunan* is still held in high regard by the people of this area to this day, serving as a record of lessons received by one of Sheikh Arsyad's most intelligent female students, Fatimah binti Usman.^{30 31}

At this time, religious studies were conducted in a complex that included a prayer room, a study area, and a dormitory for students, marking a new tradition in the teaching and learning model in this area. It is because, previously, religious studies were held at home, in prayer rooms, or the king's palace. During the period between Khatib Dayyan and Syekh Arsyad, which spanned approximately one and a half centuries, Islam was taught and disseminated based on the model of sitting religious studies held at home, in prayer rooms, or palaces.

Until the end of the 19th century, *Pangajian* was the only Islamic education system in this area. Unfortunately, the restrictions on movement and supervision imposed by the Dutch authorities on Islamic leaders, who were feared to endanger Dutch power, caused the development of *Pangajian* to falter. As a result, *Pangajian*'s contribution to social transformation also progressed at a very slow pace. Even so, through *the development of Pangajian* in the 19th century, various views and beliefs related to spirits began to be abandoned. Life practices are more oriented towards magical actions, which also start to be abandoned and move towards a rational mindset.³²

The religious study institutions in South Kalimantan are spread throughout the city. At the beginning of its presence, religious studies were held at the cleric's residence. However, many others took place in

²⁹ Wardatun Nadhiroh and Wardani, "The Dynamics of Qur'anic Text and Translation in Banjarese Ulema's Works," *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis* 24, no. 2 (July 31, 2023): 205–30, <https://doi.org/10.14421/qh.v24i2.4764>.

³⁰ Ideham et al., *Sejarah Banjar*.

³¹ Humaidy Humaidy, "Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari dan Pendidikan Islam di Kalimantan Selatan," *Jurnal Kebudayaan Kandil* 1, no. 3 (2003).

³² Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: tradisi dan modernisasi menuju milenium baru*.

prayer rooms and mosques. Even as late as 1920, in specific areas, according to Nawawi's research in the Hulu Sungai Selatan region, almost every prayer room had a *tuan guru* who volunteered to conduct religious studies.³³

Banjar Regency is the region with a high concentration of religious study institutions in South Kalimantan. As of early 2013, 445 religious study groups were registered with the Ministry of Religion in Banjar Regency. Of the 445, 43 are in Martapura District, which has the most religious study groups compared to other districts in Banjar Regency. Some are highly popular religious study groups with thousands of congregants, such as Guru Wildan's study group, Guru Syukri's study group, Guru Munawwar's study group, and Guru Muaz's. A male *Tuan guru* leads and implements all of these study groups.

Meanwhile, study groups with female leaders are still not very visible. One such group, led by a female leader and comprising a large congregation of around 500 people, is the study group led by Ibu Hajjah Nafsiyah, located in Sekumpul. Like most, this study group is filled with teachings on religious knowledge and *dhikr* activities, which are carried out regularly.^{34 35}

Discussion

Manakib Siti Khadijah and Local Wisdom

In addition to regular religious studies, which include teachings on spiritual knowledge, monthly *manaqib* readings are also held, specifically on the 11th of each month, according to the Hijri calendar. *Manaqib* is linguistically interpreted as the story of the sacredness of the saints.³⁶ Meanwhile, according to the term, *manaqib* is the history or biography of a great figure or saint, which contains lineage, struggle, *karamah* (virtues), and noble qualities, as well as stories or legends in the form of a collection of *karamah* which can usually be heard from

³³ Nawawi, Saleh, and Usman, *Sejarah Pendidikan Daerah Kalimantan Selatan*.

³⁴ Nadhiroh and Wardani, "The Dynamics of Qur'anic Text and Translation in Banjarese Ulema's Works."

³⁵ Humaidy, "Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari dan Pendidikan Islam di Kalimantan Selatan."

³⁶ Welfridus Josephus Sabarija Poerwadarminta, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, 3rd ed. (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2005).

the caretaker of the tomb, his family and his students, or read in histories of his life.^{37 38}

It differs from the general custom in Islamic boarding schools in Java, where manaqib is generally held to commemorate the founder of the Qadiriyyah order, Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Jailani. In this *Pangajian*, manaqib is held to celebrate the female figure who was also the wife of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, Siti Khadijah. This ceremony in the *Pangajian* environment is known as the reading of Siti Khadijah's manaqib (the sacred story of Siti Khadijah). Reading this manaqib is typically done using a special book that recounts several aspects of Siti Khadijah's life. There are three versions of the manaqib book that are commonly used in *Pangajian* environments in the Martapura area, namely the first book, the manaqib Sayyidah Khadijah written by As-Sayyid Muhammad bin 'Alawi al-Maliky al-Hasani, translated by al-Haj Muhammad Syukry bin Unus Ibnu Ali bin Abdul Rasyid al-Banjary; the second is the work of Abu Fatimah al-Haj Munawwar bin Ahmad Gazali al-Banjary, and the third is the manaqib Siti Khadijah compiled by Guru Syairaji Kandangan. The first two books were written using the Arabic script with the Malay or Indonesian language, which in the local language is called 'Arab Melayu.' This type of book model is commonly found in most other books by Banjar scholars. The third book was written in the Latin script using the Indonesian language.^{39 40}

In addition to being informed about the piety and spirituality of Siti Khadijah, one is also told about her humanitarian and social values. It is said that Siti Khadijah was a wealthy, generous, and charitable woman with good trading skills. Siti Khadijah also possesses perfect knowledge and reason, sound and commendable behavior (morals),

³⁷ Bayani Dahlan, Tarwilah, and Nada Rahmatina, "Manakib Dalam Tradisi Masyarakat Banjar: Analisis Antropologis Dengan Pendekatan Dakwah Kultural," *Alhadharah: Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 23, no. 1 (June 30, 2024): 35–49, <https://doi.org/10.18592/alhadharah.v23i1.11638>.

³⁸ Miftahul Jannah, "Manaqib In the Reception of the BanjarCommunity: Sanctification of Religious Text," *DINIKA: Academic Journal of Islamic Studies* 3, no. 3 (2018): 323–44, <https://doi.org/10.22515/dinika.v3i3.1353>.

³⁹ Kuntowijoyo Kuntowijoyo, *Budaya dan Masyarakat*, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogya, 1987).

⁴⁰ Abd. Rahman Jaferi, Dzikri Nirwana, and Rahmadi Rahmadi, *Kitab-Kitab Manakib Karya Ulama Banjar* (Banjarmasin: Pusat Penelitian, 2006).

wisdom in all matters, and great enthusiasm. As with the stories about the miracles of specific figures, the mythical and mystical atmosphere in this reading aims to elevate the esoteric level of the participants (the congregation). In this environment, the position of teacher-student becomes essential for those who try to enter this circle of religious culture.⁴¹

The reading of Siti Khadijah's *manaqib* has become increasingly popular in religious studies over the last two decades, especially in Martapura, Banjarmasin, and Kandangan. In the Martapura area, the reading of Siti Khadijah's *Manaqib* takes place, including the Guru Munawwar Kampung Melayu Martapura Study, the Guru Syukri Study in Antasan Senior Martapura, and the Ibu Nafsiyah Study in the Majelis Khairun Nisa Sekumpul Martapura. In Kandangan, it is done by Guru Syairaji. Recently, the recitation of this *manaqib* has become increasingly prevalent among the Banjar community, not only in women's study groups but also in other religious rituals, such as the hajj departure celebration, the seven-month pregnancy ritual, and other events that involve women as participants. In this context, societal changes and the purification movement campaign have been unable to halt the development of the tradition of reading these *manaqib*. The supernatural help, miracles, and benefits obtained by those who read the *manaqib* add to the appeal of reading this *manaqib*.^{42 43} The following are excerpts from the *manaqib* of Siti Khadijah, taken from a book written by Al-Haj Munawwar Al-Banjary:

Whoever makes it a habit to read Khadijah's *manaqib* on the eleventh day of Ramadhan or the eleventh day of the Hijriyah month, Allah will undoubtedly expand his halal sustenance and give him unexpected riches. If he engages in business, Allah will grant him numerous profits; it is lawful, and everything will be easy for him. Allah raises his rank if he is a person of rank in either this world or the hereafter. Allah will give him knowledge

⁴¹ Alfisyah Alfisyah, "Perempuan Banjar, Pengajian Dan Transformasi Sosio Kultural" (International Conference On Social and Intellectual Transformation of the Contemporary Banjarese, Banjarmasin, 2016), 1–14, <https://idr.uin-antasari.ac.id/6252/>.

⁴² Alfisyah.

⁴³ Abu Fatimah al-Haj Munawwar bin Ahmad Gaazali al-Banjari, *Manaqib Al-Sayyidah Khadijah Al-Kubra* (Martapura, 2004).

from Allah SWT if he seeks knowledge. And if he has difficulties, such as having to carry a lot of debt, then read this *manaqib*, and if he has the power to slaughter a goat and divide the meat. He will reward Sayyidah Khadijah. Allah will undoubtedly expand his halal sustenance, his debt will be paid, and Allah will convey all his wishes in the world to the afterlife.

This statement prompts many congregations, especially those of Banjar women, to strive to recite the *manaqib* of Siti Khadijah. To carry out the reading of *manaqib* by inviting many people, they are, of course, required to have specific financial capabilities. Therefore, they try to work hard to have more financial capabilities, enabling them to carry out this ritual. Kuntowijoyo stated that the charitable nature of Islam has the potential to become a new economic ethic. In addition, the institutions of *baitul maal*, *zakat*, *zuhud*, and sacrifice are forms of Islamic asceticism in the world. In other words, Siti Khadijah's *manaqib* reading institution can also be considered a form of Islamic asceticism worldwide.^{44 45}

In addition, through this *Pangajian*, Banjar women are taught how to live an ascetic life. They are taught about various ascetic attitudes that are oriented towards worldly asceticism, the intensification of religious devotion with a passion for work, and not escaping from the world. In this *Pangajian*, it is also conveyed that, as Muslims, "enriching oneself" is part of an effort to prove that Islam is rich. Accumulation of capital is not prohibited, but it must be used for the benefit of religious propagation.⁴⁶

The reading of Siti Khadijah's *manaqib* marks a change in religious orientation towards an economic perspective. The hope of being given an abundance of sustenance and prosperity, as described in

⁴⁴ Alfisyah, Yuli Apriati, and Laila Azkia, "Banjar Women's Cultural Patterns in Building Local Awareness About Welfare (A Study on the Tradition of Reading the Manakib Siti Khodijah at the Ar-Rahmah Sekumpul Recitation)" (2nd International Conference on Social Sciences Education (ICSSE 2020), Atlantis Press, 2021), 285–90, <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.210222.046>.

⁴⁵ Kuntowijoyo Kuntowijoyo, *Muslim Tanpa Masjid: Essai-Essai Agama, Budaya, dan Politik dalam Bingkai Strukturalisme Tra* (Bandung: Mizan, 2001).

⁴⁶ Alfisyah Alfisyah, "Agama dan Tingkah laku Ekonomi Urang Banjar: Studi atas Pedagang Sekumpul Martapura Kalimantan Selatan" (Tesis, Yogyakarta, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2005).

Siti Khadijah's *manaqib*, becomes part of the congregation's shared ideals. From the choice of *manaqib* that is read, the ideals reflected in the lives of Banjar women are evident, ranging from ethical issues and theology to daily life concerns.⁴⁷

The reading of Siti Khadijah's *manaqib* also reflects how Banjar women interpret prosperity and how to obtain prosperity from a local perspective. Prosperity for Banjar women encompasses economic and spiritual success, as exemplified by the figure of Siti Khadijah. Prosperity is not only about abundant wealth, but prosperity is when someone is given an abundance of sustenance that can be used for charity and worship. One way to achieve this prosperity is by reading Siti Khadijah's *manaqib*, which brings blessings from reading. One of the indicators of this blessing is the arrival of sustenance, even from unexpected sources.

This interpretation enables everyone, regardless of their financial status, to have a job or not yet still receive sustenance and welfare. By practicing or intensifying the reading of Siti Khadijah's *manaqib*, sustenance and welfare will be attained. The reading of *manaqib*, which, in its implementation, always attracts and invites many people, makes it possible for social interaction to occur, which can also lead to economic interaction. In some cases, during the recitation of this *manaqib*, congregants may ask for prayers so that their business runs smoothly, or they may ask for prayers to ensure that what they are trying to sell or offer will sell immediately. This public request for prayer serves a function similar to promotion or advertising, allowing the congregation to access the information.

The congregation also attempts to learn from these stories by reading the stories of the chronicles or histories of great people in Islamic history. These religious traditions are still carried out with the *kyai* as the driving force. It is part of an effort to institutionalize religious understanding. According to Muhtarom, the efforts to institutionalize religious knowledge by the *kyais* are a unique way for traditionalist groups to maintain stability within their belief systems in society.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Alfisyah.

⁴⁸ H. M. Muhtarom, *Reproduksi Ulama di era Globalisasi : Resistansi Tradisional Islam* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005).

The author did not find any explanation for when the study of manaqib began to develop in the Banjar community's religious environment. Although the reading of Siti Khadijah's manaqib had not been created before, Syekh Semman's manaqib had already developed in this area and experienced intensification during the time of Guru Sekumpul. Although it is not known whether during Arsyad's time, the reading of Syekh Semman's manaqib was carried out or not, Arsyad is considered the most responsible scholar for the spread of the Sammaniyah order in Kalimantan, and Arsyad received the Sammaniyah order from Al-Sammani. However, according to Bruinessen, there is no indication in Arsyad's published works that he ever joined the Sammaniyah order. Bruinessen is more convinced that the existence of the Sammaniyah order in South Kalimantan was only thanks to Sheikh Nafis. The scholars who are the heirs of Tuan Guru Arsyad in Dalam Pagar Martapura also stated that they had never heard Arsyad teach the Sammaniyah order practices but had popularized the qasidah of praise for Sheikh Samman, which is still used today.^{49 50 51}

In addition to reading *manaqib*, the study institution hosts activities to celebrate Haul and Nisfu Sya'ban and ceremonies for other significant days, such as Isra Mi'raj and Maulid Nabi. These activities are almost always filled with the recitation of *dhikr* and *qasida*, praising the Prophet and specific religious figures, such as Syekh Semman and Guru Sekumpul.

Teachers or Tuan Guru rarely charge their students for all these activities, but their students' awareness gives them alms in money, clothing, food, and shelter. Although some celebration activities are equipped with serving dishes and food sharing, almost all are donation-based and participation-driven, with students hoping to receive blessings from their involvement.

The function of *Pangajian* as a transformative institution in the socio-cultural and educational fields cannot be separated from the role of tuan guru. He is not merely a mediator and communicator who

⁴⁹ Azra, Azyumardi, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*.

⁵⁰ Muhammad Rezky Noor Handy and Sisca Nuur Fatimah, "Biography of Syekh Muhammad Nafis Al-Banjari: An Investigation of Value in the Spread of Islam as a Learning Source on Social Studies," *The Kalimantan Social Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (October 1, 2019): 40–50, <https://doi.org/10.20527/kss.v1i1.1254>.

⁵¹ Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995).

connects the Islamic world centered in Mecca with the local community. Furthermore, a *tuan guru* is an agent who can 'package' and utilize *Pangajian* to motivate, mobilize, dynamize, and even change habits. The position and role of the *tuan guru* as a cultural broker in Banjar society are similar to those of the *kyai* in Javanese culture.⁵²

The study also plays an essential role in implementing development programs in the economic sector, which often require the mobilization of capital and labor. Scholars carry out this effort and motivate the congregation to help one another and work together through the concept of *silaturahmi*. Annual rituals, such as the haul and celebrations of the Hijri calendar, including *nisfu sya'ban*, which emphasize cooperation and capital accumulation, have also encouraged the community to work optimally to continue participating in the circle. This idea has changed the individualistic orientation often associated with the merchant community into an orientation of togetherness. All the rituals carried out in the *Pangajian*, whether religious teachings, *dhikr*, reading of *manaqib*, or haul, as well as *nisfu sya'ban*, have given rise to cultural encounters between students and the outside community, who are *abangan*, or between the pious and the uneducated.

Conclusion

Reading *manaqib* as a tradition in Banjar women's religious studies can mark a change in religious orientation towards an economic perspective. The hope of being given an abundance of sustenance and prosperity, as described in Siti Khadijah's *manaqib*, is part of the shared ideals of the female congregation. From the choice of *manaqib* that is read, the ideals reflected in the lives of Banjar women are evident, ranging from ethical issues and theology to daily life concerns.

Study materials that support the development of ethics and behavior, which are essential for growth, have enabled this institution to play a crucial role in the transformation process. Values related to prosperity and abundance, as well as supernatural help for practitioners, make the recitation attract the interest of many people, especially Banjar women who have survived for centuries.

⁵² M. Ali Sibram Malisi et al., "Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjary and the Tradition of *Pengajian Langgar* in South Kalimantan," *QALAMUNA: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, Dan Agama* 16, no. 2 (October 29, 2024): 1143–54, <https://doi.org/10.37680/qalamuna.v16i2.5745>.

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