Open Access
AL-MANAR: Jurnal Komunikasi dan Pendidikan Islam
Vol. 15, No. 1, June 2026
https://journal.staimsyk.ac.id/index.php/almanar/index

The Tradition of Reciting the Manakib of Sheikh Samman in the Betawi Community of Curug Village, East Jakarta from the Perspective of Cultural Da'wah

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ARTICLE INFO
Article history:
Received
April 17, 2026
Revised
May 02, 2026
Accepted
May 10, 2026

Abstract

This study examines the tradition of reciting the manakib of Sheikh Muhammad Samman in the Betawi community in Kampung Curug, East Jakarta, from the perspective of cultural da'wah. The manakiban tradition is a form of religious expression that functions not only as a spiritual ritual but also as a medium for transmitting Islamic values integrated with local culture. Amid the dynamics of modernization and the emergence of various forms of religious understanding, this tradition persists despite facing criticism from scripturalist groups. This study aims to describe the practice of implementing manakiban, identify the social, spiritual, and cultural meanings contained therein, and analyze its relevance as a cultural da'wah strategy. The method used is qualitative research with a field research approach through observation, interviews, and literature studies. Data analysis was carried out using an interactive model that includes data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions, and is strengthened by triangulation techniques. The results of the study indicate that the manakiban tradition is carried out collectively, generally in order to fulfill a vow (kaulan), and is led by local religious leaders. Spiritually, this tradition is interpreted as a form of tawassul and tabarruk; Socially, it serves to strengthen community cohesion and solidarity; and culturally, it serves as a distinctive religious identity for the Betawi people. From a cultural da'wah perspective, manakiban is an adaptive, persuasive, and non-confrontational da'wah strategy, as it is able to internalize Islamic values through local cultural media. Thus, this tradition not only preserves cultural heritage but also plays a role in maintaining the continuity of Islamic values in community life.

Keywords: Manakib, Cultural Da'wah, Betawi Society, Religious Tradition, Sammaniyah Order

Published by STAI Masjid Syuhada Yogyakarta
Website https://journal.staimsyk.ac.id/index.php/almanar/index
ISSN 2615-8879
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INTRODUCTION

Religious traditions in Muslim societies not only reflect normative worship practices but also demonstrate the dialectical process between Islamic teachings and evolving socio-cultural realities (Nurul 2023). In the Betawi context, one form of religious expression that persists to this day is the tradition of reciting manakib, particularly the manakib of Sheikh

Muhammad Samman. This tradition is not merely interpreted as a spiritual ritual but also as a medium for transmitting Islamic values integrated with the community's local wisdom.

With the development of contemporary society, marked by modernization and the strengthening of the current of purifying religious understanding (Qurnia Hayati 2023), the existence of the manakiban tradition faces dynamics and debate. Some groups view the practice as part of a culturally legitimate religious expression, while others criticize it as a form of innovation (bid'ah) ungrounded in scriptural religious practice. This situation demonstrates the tension between a culture-based approach to da'wah (preaching) and a more textual-normative approach. This phenomenon is interesting to study from a da'wah perspective, particularly through a cultural da'wah framework that emphasizes the importance of a contextual and adaptive approach to local culture. The manakiban tradition can be understood as a da'wah strategy that is not confrontational, but rather integrative, by internalizing Islamic values into the community's cultural practices.

Previous research shows that the manakiban tradition has been studied from various perspectives. The first study by Bayani Dahlan, entitled "Manakib in Banjar Community Traditions: An Anthropological Analysis with a Cultural Da'wah Approach" (Dahlan and Rahmatina 2024), highlights the implementation of the manakib tradition from a different locus. The second study by Muhammad Iqbal Suharno, entitled "Religious Moderation: Understanding Ratib Saman as a Religious Tradition in the Naqshbandiyah Tariqat in Besilam Village, Padang Tualang District, Langkat Regency" (Suharno et al. 2024). This study highlights the ratib saman tradition, which is considered to provide in-depth understanding of the significance and dynamics of community religious traditions within the context of the Naqshbandiyah Sufi order in North Sumatra. The third study, by Siti Rahmah, is entitled "A Semiotic Study of the Manaqib Celebration Tradition in the Banjar Community of Dirgahayu Village" (Rahmah 2026). This study examines the procedures for implementing manaqib, which reflect the hopes, togetherness, and solidarity of the Banjar community in Dirgahayu Village.

However, these three studies have not specifically examined the manaqib tradition from a cultural da'wah perspective in the Betawi community of Curug Village, particularly in examining how this tradition functions as a da'wah strategy that persists amidst contested religious discourse. Thus, a research gap exists that indicates the need for more in-depth study of the function, socio-spiritual meaning, and relevance of manaqib within a cultural da'wah framework. The aim of this research is to describe the practice of the manakiban tradition in the Betawi community of Kampung Curug, analyze the social and

spiritual meanings contained in this tradition, and examine its relevance as a form of cultural da'wah in Betawi society.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative research method with a field research approach. The data in this study were divided into two categories: primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained through observation and interviews with informants directly involved in the implementation of the manakiban tradition in Kampung Curug, such as ustadz/ustadzah and the local community. Secondary data were obtained through literature review by searching for books, journals, and other sources discussing the manakib tradition, Betawi society, and da'wah.

The data analysis technique was carried out using the Huberman and Milles interactive analysis model, which includes three main steps: (1) Data reduction stage. At this stage, the researcher selects, focuses, simplifies, and transforms the raw data obtained into a more organized form. (2) Data presentation stage. At this stage, the reduced data is systematically arranged in the form of a descriptive narrative to facilitate the researcher in understanding the patterns, relationships, and meanings contained therein. (3) The final stage is drawing conclusions. In this study, the researcher also used triangulation techniques, both source triangulation and method triangulation, to increase credibility, validity, and reduce bias in this study.

Results and Discussion

Cultural Da'wah Approach to Religious Phenomena

Etymologically, da'wah comes from the word da'a- yad'u- da'watan which means to call, invite, summon, invite, entertain (Munawwir, 1997; Yunus, 1990). In the Big Indonesian Dictionary, da'wah is defined as: (1) broadcasting; propaganda (2) broadcasting religion and its development among the community; a call to embrace, study, and practice religious teachings (KBBI VI Online, n.d.). In Islamic treasury, the term da'wah is also often equated with various other terminologies such as: tabligh, amar ma'ruf nahi munkar, mau'idzhah hasanah, tabsyir, indzhar, washiyah, tarbiyah, ta'lim, and sermon (Munir and Ilaihi 2006). Terminologically, according to Quraish Shihab, da'wah is an invitation to virtue through various sympathetic means to guide the target of da'wah to behave in accordance with what is taught in the Qur'an and Sunnah (Shihab 2020). Toha Yahya Umar defines da'wah as wisely inviting people to the right path in accordance with God's commands, for their benefit and happiness in this world and the hereafter (Yahya Umar 2016). Meanwhile, M. Munir and Wahyu Ilaihi view da'wah as the activity of inviting, encouraging, and motivating others based on bashirah (knowledge and sound planning) to follow the path of Allah and

be steadfast in His path, while striving together to elevate Allah's religion (Munir and Ilaihi 2006).

From these various definitions, it is clear that da'wah is not limited to verbal delivery of messages, but is a process of socio-religious transformation that requires precise methods and sensitivity to reality. This is in line with the method of preaching in the Koran as stated in Q.S. al-Nah}l verse 125 which reads:

اُدْعُ اِلٰى سَبِيْلِ رَبِّكَ بِالْحِكْمَةِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ الْحَسَنَةِ وَجَادِلْهُمْ بِالَّتِيْ هِيَ اَحْسَنُۗ اِنَّ رَبَّكَ هُوَ اَعْلَمُ بِمَنْ ضَلَّ عَنْ سَبِيْلِهٖ وَهُوَ اَعْلَمُ بِالْمُهْتَدِيْنَ

"Call (people) to the path of your Lord with wisdom and good teaching and debate them with a better way. Indeed, your Lord is He who knows best who has strayed from His path and He (also) knows best who is guided."

This verse emphasizes that da'wah must be based on wisdom (hikmah) and good teaching (maw'idzatil hasanah), not carried out through force. Violence or insulting or cursing expressions that contradict good morals (akhlakul karimah). Da'wah should also be delivered with evidence and explanations that can be understood by the minds of the people (the object of da'wah). In this context, in a narration, the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) said (al-Ghazali 2010):

نحن معاشر الأنبياء أمرنا أن ننزل الناس منازلهم ونكلمهم على قدر عقولهم

"We, the Prophets, are commanded to treat people according to their status and we are commanded by Allah SWT to speak/invite people according to their level of reason."

Furthermore, in addition to using the wisdom and mau'izatul hasanah approach, the Quran also teaches the principle of wajadilhum billati hiya ahsan. This means that if debate is unavoidable, it should be conducted in a good, polite, and argumentative manner. Debates should be directed at exchanging arguments and reasons with an open heart, and should be based on the intention of seeking the truth, not on winning egos or putting down the other party. Therefore, debates in da'wah should be a means of clarification and enlightenment, not a trigger for conflict and hostility.

Based on these normative principles, a da'i is required to possess extensive knowledge, emotional maturity, and social sensitivity to position themselves appropriately in various societal situations and conditions. Thus, da'wah encompasses not only cognitive aspects but also affective and social aspects, so that religious messages can be received more effectively and leave a lasting impression on the lives of the mad'u (the object of da'wah).

Further implications of these demands demonstrate that an adaptive and contextual approach to da'wah is crucial, especially when dealing with the reality of a diverse society, both in terms of culture, tradition, and level of religious understanding (Taneu 2022). A

rigid, uniform approach that ignores the cultural dimension has the potential to generate resistance and even social conflict. Therefore, da'wah needs to be developed by considering local values that exist and thrive in society, without diminishing the substance of Islamic teachings themselves.

Within this framework, the cultural da'wah approach finds its relevance, especially in plural and multicultural societies. Cultural da'wah is an effort to transform the values of Islamic teachings, drawing on the Qur'an and Hadith while still paying attention to the cultural context or local wisdom that has taken root in society. This process of internalizing Islamic teachings into the existing culture occurs (Ahmad and Nafis 2021). This approach requires a high level of tolerance, moderation, equality, mutual cooperation, and justice. These conditions, in turn, lead to a more lenient understanding and attitude toward Muslims, rather than one that is harsh, radical, and spreads fear (Asmar 2018).

Thus, cultural da'wah functions not only as a strategy for conveying teachings but also as an instrument for inclusive and humanistic social transformation. Through this approach, Islamic values can be presented contextually, grounded, and relevant to the dynamics of pluralistic society. Da'wah is understood not merely as a normative process but also as a cultural practice capable of building harmony, strengthening social cohesion, and affirming Islam as a blessing for all creation (rahmatan lil 'aalamin).

History and Development of the Manakib Tradition in Islam

Manakib in the Big Indonesian Dictionary, is defined as the sacred story of the saints ("KBBI VI Online" 2026). The term manakib itself comes from the Arabic word manaqib which means character, character, goodness, praiseworthy disposition (Munawwir 1997, 1451; Yunus 1990, 464). There are several other terms to refer to this manaqib such as: tarjama (biography), akhbar (collection of historical traditions), taʿrīf (history), faḍāʾil (virtue/excellence), maʾāṯhir and mafākhir (achievement/excellence) (Bosworth 1991, 357).

Meanwhile, terminologically, according to Ahmad Asrori al-Ishaqi as quoted by Budi Sujati, manakib refers to the reading or telling of stories about pious people, such as the stories of the Prophets or auliya' (God's beloved ones). These stories are generally written using very beautiful sentence structure. In a broader sense, manakib encompasses everything known and recognized about a person, such as behavior and deeds that are commendable in the sight of Allah SWT, noble and attractive qualities, good and beautiful disposition and ethics, as well as various sanctities, nobility, perfection, and great karamahs in the sight of Allah SWT. (Sujati 2021, 44). Then, in The Encyclopaedia of Islam, manakib is defined as (Bosworth, 1991):

“ a biographical works of a laudatory nature”, “in which the merits, virtues and remarkable deeds of the individual concerned are given prominence" . The principal goal of such works "is to offer to the reader a moral portrait and information on the noble actions of the individuals who constitute their subject or on the superior merits of a certain group”.

The tradition of reading manakib itself is not known exactly when it first appeared. However, in practice, telling the story of a character's life has been exemplified in the Qur'an through the stories of prophets and pious people such as the stories of Prophet Yusuf AS, Prophet Musa AS, etc. In QS. Hud: 120 explains that the stories of the Apostles were told to strengthen the hearts and serve as a lesson for believers (Munirah, 2019).

Attention to the life history of figures is also visible in the Islamic tradition through the documentation of the life of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. All traces of the life of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, from his words, actions, to his personal character are collected in hadith literature. Apart from that, there are also separate works which specifically tell the story of his life journey. Apart from that, there are also special works that tell the story of his life journey, such as Sirah Nabawiyah by Ibnu Ishaq and later tahqiq (edited) by Ibnu Hisyam. This work contains a comprehensive narrative of the life journey of the Prophet Muhammad SAW from when he was a child until his death (Munirah, 2019).

During the Companion period, their life stories also began to be documented by scholars. For example, Imam al-Bukhari in Sahih al-Bukhari contains various narrations about the virtues of friends such as Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, and Ali. However, the presentation is still mixed with the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad SAW in general. Over time, writing manakib developed into its own genre, as seen in the work of Muhammad bin al-Husein bin Ibrahim bin 'Ashim who wrote Manaqib Imam Syafi'i (Munirah, 2019).

The development of manakib books accelerated during the 4th-10th century H until now (Munirah, 2019; Sujati, 2021). As Asma Afsaruddin points out, manakib not only functioned as biographical records but also as a medium for representing ideological interests, both politically and theologically (Afsaruddin, 2002). In the Indonesian context, the manakib tradition is closely linked to the development of the Sufi order (Munirah 2019). One of the earliest and most influential was the manakib of Sheikh Abdul Qādir al-Jailānī, founder of the Qadiriyyah order, whose manakib was brought to Indonesia by Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari. Furthermore, the manakib of Sheikh Bahā al-Dīn Naqshbandi, founder of the

Naqshbandiyah order, became widely known as the Naqshbandiyah order developed (Munirah 2019).

Furthermore, the tradition of manakib recitation also encompassed other figures within the Sufi order network, including Sheikh Muhammad Samman. Books that narrate his life became known in Indonesia at the same time as the Sammaniyah order spread, which is thought to have occurred around the beginning of the 19th century. Historically, the preparation of Sheikh Samman's manaqib is associated with Sheikh Shiddiq ibn Umar Khan al-Madani, who was the teacher of Abdul Shamad al-Palimbani and Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari. He wrote a biography of his teacher with the title Manaqib al-Kubra, in which he tells a lot about the miracles / karamah attributed to Sheikh Samman. This book was then translated several times into Malay with various additions, the first time by Muhammad Muhyiddin ibn Syihabuddin al-Palimbani with the title "Hikayat Shaykh Muhammad Samman" (Van Bruinessen, 2012).

In the Betawi region, the spread of the Sammaniyah Tarekat, including Ratib Samman and the reading of Sheikh Samman's manakib, cannot be separated from the role of ulama who have scientific networks with the Middle East. One important figure was Sheikh Abdurrahman Al-Batawi Al-Mishri, a Middle Eastern cleric who later settled in the Petamburan area. He was a friend of Sheikh Abdus Shamad Al-Palimbani, a student of Sheikh Samman. Through this network, the teachings of the Sammaniyah Tarekat began to develop among Betawi society (Kiki 2017). Apart from Sheikh Abdurrahman Al-Mashri, another figure who made a contribution was Teacher Mughni Kuningan. He was a prominent Betawi cleric who spread Ratib and Samman remembrance among Betawi people after he returned from studying in the Holy Land. The role of these two figures was strengthened by the students of Sheikh Abdus Shamad Al-Palimbani who helped spread the tgarekat. The intense spread made the Sammaniyah Tarekat very entrenched, even known as a tarekat that was synonymous with Betawi society at that time (Kiki 2017).

Over time, the existence of the Sammaniyah Order in Betawi has declined. This decline was triggered by criticism that some of the practices and sayings in the order deviate from Islamic teachings and have the potential to damage the faith. In addition, the inability of the students and propagators of the Sammaniyah Order to respond to these accusations also weakened its existence in Tanah Betawi (Kiki 2017). Although now the existence of the Sammaniyah Order in Tanah Betawi is increasingly rare, even has disappeared, the tradition of reciting the manakib of Syekh Samman remains alive and preserved, especially present

in certain rituals, such as: fulfilling vows, which shows that this practice still has significant religious and social meaning for some Betawi people.

Background of Betawi Society: Education and Religiosity

As an ethnic group, experts hold differing views regarding the origins of the Betawi people. Lance Castles, in his book "The Ethnic Profile of Jakarta," states that the Betawi ethnic group only emerged in the 20th century and descended from slaves. This view has been refuted by Betawi cultural expert Ridwan Saidi, who argues that archaeological evidence, in the form of stone axes found in various areas of Jakarta, such as Cengkareng, Sunter, Cilincing, Kebon Sirih, Tanah Abang, Rawa Belong, and even in Tangerang, such as Ciputat, Pondok Jengkol, and Pondok, indicates that the population of Kalapa (Jakarta) had been evenly distributed since approximately 3,000-4,000 years ago. He refers to these early inhabitants as proto-Betawi. This notion is plausible, as an ethnic group does not emerge suddenly, but rather through a long process. However, the continuity between proto-Betawi and the Sundanese population of Kalapa has not been historically proven (Erwantoro 2014).

Disagreements also arise regarding the origins of the word "Betawi" itself. The first opinion states that the word originates from the word "Batavia," which, because the natives couldn't pronounce correctly, meant it was called "Betawi." The second opinion states that "Betawi" comes from the name of a tree, the Betawi Gulinging tree, which once grew abundantly in Nusa Kelapa (Jakarta) and in West Kalimantan, where it was known as "Bekawi." The second opinion tends to be more accepted by cultural experts, considering that many names of areas/regions in Jakarta are derived from plants or trees (Lukmansyah et al. 2016).

Experts also differ on the timing and process of Islam's arrival in Jakarta. There are at least two main theories. First, the Sheikh Quro Theory, put forward by Prof. Ahmad Mansur Suryanegara and supported by Betawi cultural experts Ridwan Saidi, Dr. Nasim, and Agus Sunyoto. This theory states that the Islamization of Bandar Calapa (Jakarta) and its surroundings predates the conquest by Fatahillah's forces in 1527 CE. The key figure is Sheikh Qura/Syekh Hasanuddin of Cempa, who founded an Islamic boarding school in Karawang, West Java. Second, the Fatahillah Theory, proposed by Hossein Djajadiningrat, and supported by Prof. Uka Tjandrasasmita and Prof. Hasan Muarif Ambary, explains that Islam was first introduced in Bandar Calapa (Jakarta) after the establishment of Islamic political power through Fatahillah's conquest in 1527 CE (Derani 2013, 218–23).

Despite these differing opinions regarding the origins of the Betawi people, the etymology of the name Betawi, and the initial arrival of Islam, one element remains deeply embedded in Betawi society: Islam. Buya Hamka emphasized the strong adherence of the Betawi people to Islamic religion and traditions during 350 years of Dutch colonial rule. However, it is rare to hear of Betawi people converting to Serani (Christianity) despite living in poverty and lacking knowledge, as doing so was considered a great disgrace. The strong Islamic spirit within Betawi society is also reflected in various traditions such as dhikr (recitation of the zikir), Ratiban (recitation of the words of Shaykh Saman), Mulûdan (recitation of the Qur'an), Isrâ'an (recitation of the Qur'an), Barzanjian (recitation of the Qur'an), and Nibâan (recitation of the Qur'an), which thrive within the community. Furthermore, artistic expressions such as pantun (pantun) and prose are imbued with praise of Allah SWT and moral advice, further strengthening the Betawi people's identity as Muslims (Derani 2013, 231).

The intertwining of Islam in Betawi culture is inseparable from the role of the ulama (ulama) (Derani 2013, 232). Furthermore, the structure of the ulama (ulama) has developed uniquely within Betawi lands. According to Ridwan Saidi, as quoted by Rakhmad Zailani Kiki, there is a hierarchy of status within the Betawi ulama community determined by their function and teaching role within the community. The highest status is that of Guru, who in Islamic tradition is equated with Syaikh al-Masyaikh. Gurus are the source of questions, the place where the community returns all their questions. Gurus have the authority to issue religious fatwas and usually specialize in specific fields of knowledge (Kiki 2011).

In Betawi, there are six prominent teachers known as the six teachers or "six central scholars": Guru Marzuki Cipinang Muara, Guru Mughni Kuningan, Guru Manshur Jembatan Lima, Guru Khalid Gondangdia, Guru Madjid Pekojan, and Guru Mahmud Ramli. Below Gurus are Mu'allim. Mu'allim have the authority to teach books in various Islamic disciplines, but are not yet authorized to issue fatwas. The lowest status, or Ustadz, is the Ustadz. Ustadz provides religious lessons to beginners at basic and advanced levels. The Ustadz provides lessons on reading the Koran, Arabic, dates, as well as understanding the pillars of Islam and the pillars of faith (Kiki 2011).

This hierarchical structure of the ulama (Islamic scholars) demonstrates that the religious life of the Betawi people is systematically and continuously structured. Ulama, from the grassroots level to the highest authority, carry out educational functions, foster

moral development, and maintain Islamic identity in Betawi land. This hierarchical structure demonstrates that the religious life of the Betawi people is systematically conducted through an educational pathway based on Islamic tradition. The role of teachers, mu'allim (Islamic leaders), and ustadz (Islamic religious teachers) is key in transmitting Islamic knowledge and shaping the community's character. Institutions such as the prayer room (langgar), the Islamic study group (masjid taklim), and religious study groups (pengajian) in villages serve as primary venues for Islamic education, where the values of faith, worship, and morality are taught from an early age.

This strong religious education contributes to the high level of religiosity of the Betawi people, which is reflected in their social and cultural behavior. Islamic values guide social interactions and serve as a form of social control, maintaining societal norms and morals. The continued preservation of religious traditions and the high respect for ulama further solidify the Betawi people's identity as a religious society.

Thus, it can be concluded that education and religiosity in the Betawi community are two closely interrelated aspects that were formed through a long historical process. The strong tradition of Islamic education, supported by the structure of the ulama (Islamic scholars), has fostered a religious character rooted in Islamic values. However, amidst the currents of modernity and globalization, the Betawi community now faces challenges in maintaining the continuity of its religious identity.

Description of the Tradition of Reciting the Manakib of Sheikh Samman in the Betawi Community of Curug Village

The implementation of the Syekh Samman's manakib reading activity (or in Betawi language called the manaqiban tradition) in Kampung Curug is not carried out routinely, usually this tradition is carried out when the owner of the event says a vow or ngucap, or in Betawi suburban language called kaulan (Siti Hidayati, personal communication, 2025). Nazar, ngucap, or kaulan is basically a form of promise that is not only intended in the heart, but also said clearly so that it can be witnessed by others. As a vow, a vow has consequences that are believed to affect the life of the person who says it in the future. Therefore, a vow must be fulfilled according to what has been promised; if it is not carried out, it is believed to have a bad impact on the person who does it (Saputra and Nurzain 2009, 112). Examples of vows or vows include: "If my child recovers from illness, I will recite the manakib of Sheikh Samman" or "If my child graduates from college, I will recite the manakib of Sheikh Samman."

To hold a manakiban event, the host usually invites the recipient, who announces it at the Majlis Ta'lim (Islamic study group) where the host attends the religious study and also invites the neighbors. This activity is almost never carried out individually, as it is generally done collectively (Siti Hidayati, personal communication, 2025).

When the manakib recitation begins, the host prepares equipment such as the Manakib of Sheikh Samman, perfume, mixed flowers, and Surah Yasin. Flowers and perfume are not mandatory and are intended only to scent the room. The host of the event will also prepare food and drinks according to their means as a form of gratitude and charity to the guests in attendance, thus attracting them to be more enthusiastic about participating in the ceremony (Siti Hidayati, personal communication, 2025).

In other information obtained by researchers from Ustadzah Nihayah, one of the elders in Kampung Curug, regarding the dishes served, the host of the event used to almost always provide white bread, rock sugar, coffee, tea, even tumpeng (rice cone) and bakakak chicken. However, currently, as conveyed by Ustadzah Hidayati, the dishes served are much simpler and adjusted to the host's means. (Nihayah, personal communication, 2025).

The Meaning of the Tradition of Reciting the Manaqib of Sheikh Samman for the Curug Community

The tradition of reciting Syekh Samman's manakib in the Betawi community of Curug Village is not only understood as a religious ritual, but also contains various interrelated social, spiritual, and cultural meanings.

First, spiritually, reciting manakib is interpreted as a form of tabarruk (hoping for blessings) and tawassul (religious intercession) through Syekh Samman, one of God's saints. The community believes that by reciting his life story and virtues, along with prayers, the path to achieving desired goals will be opened (Mahmud Abdurrahim, personal communication, 2025; Siti Hidayati, personal communication, 2025). In this context, manakiban is understood not only as a mere recitation of a text, but as a spiritual practice that fosters inner closeness between humans and God through the intermediary of a figure considered to hold a special place in His sight. Furthermore, reciting manakib also serves as a form of actualization of previously sworn vows or vows. Fulfilling vows through this activity is seen as a manifestation of sincerity in keeping promises to Allah SWT. Therefore, there is a strong moral and religious awareness in its implementation, where individuals feel a responsibility to carry out their intentions while avoiding the negative consequences believed to arise if these vows are ignored.

Second, the manakiban activity serves as a means of gathering and strengthening social ties within the Curug village community. During the event, residents attend not only

to listen to the recitation of the manakib but also to interact with one another, exchange news, and strengthen a sense of togetherness and social solidarity. This moment also provides a space for building closer community ties, especially amidst increasingly individualistic society. Thus, the manaqiban tradition serves as a medium for maintaining social cohesion and strengthening relationships between residents.

Third, from a cultural perspective, this tradition is part of the religious identity of the Betawi people in Curug Village. The practice of manakiban demonstrates how Islamic teachings are practiced in a unique form rooted in local traditions. Sheikh Muhammad Samman's recitation of the manakib (religious teachings) not only presents a theological dimension but also demonstrates the acculturation process between Islamic values and Betawi culture. In this context, manakiban serves as a medium for transmitting religious values and preserving traditions passed down through generations. This tradition demonstrates that community religious practices are not singular and uniform, but rather have characteristics influenced by history, the social environment, and the collective experiences of the local community.

Fourth, the manakiban tradition also serves as a means of inner peace for the community. In certain situations, such as facing illness, hardships, or hopes for the future, this activity provides a sense of serenity and confidence that every effort accompanied by prayer will receive help from Allah SWT through tawassul (religious guidance) or blessings from Sheikh Muhammad Samman.

The Tradition of Reciting the Manaqib of Sheikh Muhammad Samman in the Framework of Cultural Da'wah

The tradition of reciting the manakib of Sheikh Muhammad Samman in the Betawi community of Kampung Curug can be understood as a concrete form of Islamic cultural da'wah practice. Da'wah, in this context, is not only interpreted as a normative process of conveying teachings, but also as an effort to transform Islamic values that dynamically interact with the social and cultural realities of society. From this perspective, the manakiban tradition functions not only as a religious ritual but also as a medium for internalizing Islamic values, packaged in narratives, symbols, and collective practices. The stories of the piety, exemplary behavior, and miraculous powers of the saints recited in the manakib serve as moral exemplars, ideal examples that serve as behavioral references for the community. This aligns with the function of stories in the Quran, which are not merely historical narratives but also as a means of spiritual and moral education.

Furthermore, the practice of manakiban reflects a da'wah strategy based on a Sufi approach. In the Sufi tradition, the da'wah approach emphasizes not only the normative-

legalistic (jurisprudence) aspect, but also the inner (esoteric) aspect, such as: tazkiyatun nafs (purification of the soul), hubbullah (love for Allah SWT), hubbunabiy (love for the Prophet Muhammad), hubbul auliya wa sholihin (love for the beloved of Allah SWT and the pious), tabarruk (seeking blessings), and tawassul (religious prayer). Thus, the recitation of manakib becomes a medium for instilling a deeper spiritual dimension of Islam in the community. Furthermore, this tradition also demonstrates how cultural da'wah works through the mechanism of acculturation. Local elements such as the use of the term kaulan, invitations based on majelis taklim (Islamic study groups), and the provision of typical dishes demonstrate that Islamic teachings are not rigidly present but rather adapt to local culture without losing their theological substance. In this case, da'wah is not confrontational with culture, but rather involves a process of selection, adaptation, and integration of values. From a social perspective, manaqiban also serves as a participatory and collective space for da'wah. Unlike formal da'wah, which is one-way, this tradition involves active interaction among community members, thus transmitting religious values in a more lively and down-to-earth manner. Togetherness in reading, praying, and giving alms creates a communal religious experience, which in turn strengthens social cohesion and community solidarity.

Amidst the tide of modernization and individualistic tendencies, the manaqiban tradition can be viewed as both a form of cultural resistance and a community-based strategy for preserving Islamic values. This finding aligns with the theory of cultural da'wah, which emphasizes that the process of internalizing Islamic teachings does not always occur through a textual-formal approach, but also through integration with local culture as a medium for da'wah. In this context, manakiban functions as a medium that maintains the continuity of religious traditions while strengthening the religious identity of the Betawi people. Thus, cultural da'wah through the manakiban tradition serves not only as a means of conveying teachings but also as a mechanism for the adaptive and sustainable reproduction of local Islamic culture.

The contemporary context shows that this practice is not without challenges, particularly in relation to the development of puritanical and scripturalist religious views that view the tradition as heretical and even bordering on polytheism. This criticism is primarily directed at the practices of tawassul (prayer), tabarruk (seeking blessings), and the glorification of saints. When linked to the theory of cultural da'wah, which emphasizes the flexibility and contextuality of conveying the Islamic message, these findings indicate an epistemological tension between cultural and scripturalist approaches regarding understanding societal religious expressions.

Therefore, the results of this study fundamentally strengthen the theory of cultural da'wah, particularly the idea that effective da'wah is not confrontational, but rather adaptive, dialogical, and contextual. The manakiban tradition demonstrates that Islamic values can be internalized through cultural media without losing their religious substance. However, at the same time, these findings also enrich this theory by demonstrating that the implementation of cultural da'wah does not take place in a homogeneous space, but rather in a dynamic arena of contested religious discourse.

Thus, the tradition of reciting the manakib of Sheikh Muhammad Saman can be positioned as an effective manifestation of cultural da'wah, as it is able to harmoniously integrate spiritual, social, and cultural dimensions. He not only conveys Islamic teachings but also brings them to life in the daily practices of society, thus presenting Islam as a down-to-earth, inclusive teaching that continually adapts to the dynamics of society.

CONCLUSION

The tradition of reciting the manakib of Sheikh Muhammad Samman in the Betawi community of Kampung Curug is a religious practice that is not merely ritualistic but also reflects a strong integration of spiritual, social, and cultural dimensions in community life. This tradition is carried out primarily in the context of fulfilling vows (kaulan) and is carried out collectively through social mechanisms. Spiritually, the manakiban tradition is interpreted as a form of tawassul and tabarruk oriented towards seeking blessings and strengthening the inner connection with Allah SWT. Socially, this practice serves as a medium of social cohesion, strengthening solidarity, strengthening interactions between residents, and providing a space for communal communication amidst the increasingly individualistic tendencies of modern society. Meanwhile, culturally, this tradition represents the acculturation of Islamic teachings with the local wisdom of the Betawi people, thus forming a distinctive and contextual expression of religiosity.

The cultural da'wah approach views the manakiban tradition as an adaptive, persuasive, and non-confrontational da'wah strategy. Through narratives of exemplary pious figures and participatory collective practices, Islamic values are transmitted in a more down-to-earth manner and are readily accepted by society. This tradition demonstrates that da'wah (Islamic preaching) does not always have to be formal and normative but can also operate through the cultural medium that exists within society.

However, this tradition also faces challenges from the development of more puritanical and scripturalist religious understandings. Therefore, a dialogical and inclusive approach is needed to address these differences, so that this deeply rooted tradition can be understood proportionally without causing social conflict. Thus, the tradition of reciting the

manakib of Sheikh Muhammad Samman can be positioned as an effective manifestation of cultural da'wah in maintaining the continuity of Islamic values while strengthening the community's religious identity.

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