

Ratib Saman: Tradition, Faith, and Law In Pulau Tengah, Kerinci

Ranta Adsa^{a,1,*}, Zainal Azwar^{a,2}

^a Universitas Islam Negeri Imam Bonjol, Padang, Indonesia

¹ ranta2409@gmail.com; ² zainalazwar@uinin.ac.id

* Corresponding Author

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ABSTRACT

Religious traditions in Indonesia reflect the dynamic interaction between Islamic teachings and local culture, as seen in the Ratib Saman practice in Pulau Tengah Village, Kerinci, Jambi. This study explores how Islamic law engages with Indonesian traditions. Ratib Saman, a collective zikr with distinctive movements inherited from the Samaniyah Sufi order, is deeply rooted in the community's socio-religious life. Using a descriptive qualitative method, observation, interviews, and literature review, the study finds that Ratib Saman is institutionalised within traditional social structures through the roles of religious and community leaders. Based on the concept of ‘urf, it is categorised as ‘urf ‘amali, ‘urf khās, and ‘urf ṣaḥīḥ, as it is well-known, beneficial, and consistent with Sharia principles. Ratib Saman strengthens social cohesion, nurtures spirituality, and preserves local Islamic heritage. Although some view its expressive zikr movements as bid‘ah, the uṣūl al-fiqh perspective affirms its legitimacy as long as it aligns with core Islamic teachings. Thus, Ratib Saman represents not only a form of worship but also a manifestation of local wisdom that enriches Indonesia's Islamic tradition.

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1. Introduction

Indonesia is renowned for its rich diversity in understanding and experiencing religious teachings, which has given rise to numerous local traditions and beliefs across various regions [1]. The way society accepts and internalises religious teachings is significantly influenced by the background of the individuals disseminating the teachings, the socio-cultural structure of the local community, and the geographical conditions and natural environment surrounding it. This gives birth to diverse cultural expressions [2]. Culture has become one of the important elements that has received significant attention in the construction of Islamic law and has become an object of extensive study among experts. Culture is considered to have the potential to contribute as a source of Islamic law; however, it is necessary to determine the characteristics of culture that can serve as a normative

reference, the criteria that must be met, and the level of strength of its argument within the Islamic legal system.

In the discourse of Islamic law, several scholars and schools of Islamic jurisprudence hold that customs and habits occupy a significant position as a source of law [3]. They are of the view that as long as a custom does not conflict with the basic principles of sharia, it can be used as a basis for determining a law. Customs and habits are considered a reflection of the understanding and practice of society in a certain social context, so their existence is important to consider in the process of formulating relevant and applicable laws [4]. This view highlights the significance of the relationship between legal norms and the realities of community life. Meanwhile, other groups of scholars and schools of thought argue that customs cannot be used as an absolute requirement in the formation of Islamic law. According to them, Islamic law must be based on authoritative and definite sources, namely the Qur'an and Hadith [5]. Within this framework, customs can only function as supporting elements in understanding and implementing the law, provided they do not conflict with established Sharia principles. This difference in views highlights the dynamics of *ijtihad* in responding to the complexity of social reality, while also emphasising the importance of integrating text and context in the development of contemporary Islamic law [6].

Preserving local traditions is an important effort in maintaining the identity and character of a society or nation. Local culture reflects values, beliefs, and history that are passed down from generation to generation, thus becoming the foundation of social bonds and the pride of the community. In the context of Muslim society, preserving local traditions not only strengthens social ties but also enriches the nation's cultural diversity, providing economic value through the potential for cultural tourism [7]. This preservation is particularly important amid the currents of globalisation and modernisation that can erode traditional values [8].

Ratib Saman itself is a series of *dhikr* taught by the Samaniyah order originating from Medina and brought to Kerinci by scholars who had studied there. This tradition embodies high spiritual values and is one of the local wisdoms that binds society socially and religiously, especially amidst the challenges of modernity, which tend to be individualistic and materialistic [9]. From the perspective of Islamic law, *'urf* (local customs or habits) can be the basis for legal considerations as long as they do not conflict with the principles of sharia. *'Urf* is used as a source of law in *fiqh* as part of *ijtihad*, especially in the field of *muamalah* (social and economic interaction), to accommodate the diversity of cultures and traditions of Muslim communities in various regions [10]. Therefore, studying local traditions such as Ratib Saman within the framework of *'urf* and Islamic law is important to ensure that these traditions remain relevant, in accordance with Islamic teachings, and can be a source of local wisdom that strengthens the morals and spirituality of society.

According to research conducted by Olan Fransiska, Ratib Saman has also become a tradition in several villages in the Kerinci region, particularly in the Siulak District, for homecoming celebrations. Ratib Saman is found in the downstream area of Kerinci. Ratib Saman. This homecoming tradition is not only found in the downstream area of Kerinci, but also in the Kerinci homecoming area, especially in Siulak District, one of which is in Tutung Bungkok Village, which is the object of this research [11].

A study conducted by Ahmad Jamin also states that the Ratib tradition contains elements of spirituality that are believed by the community to be a form of obedience and devotion to the Almighty. It contains character values that need to be applied to the younger generation, which include four aspects: mind, heart, practice, and feeling [12].

In this study, the author chooses to discuss how the existence of Ratib Saman in the framework of *'urf* and Islamic law. A religious tradition originating from Pulau Tengah Village, Keliling Danau District, Kerinci Regency, Jambi Province. Ratib Saman is a tradition that has become a habit of the Pulau Tengah community, where Ratib Saman itself contains prayers and *dhikr*, accompanied by movements; these movements are a characteristic of Ratib Saman. In simple terms, it can be understood as a type of research whose findings are not obtained through statistical procedures, but

rather focus on how researchers understand and interpret the meaning of events, interactions, or behaviours of subjects in certain situations according to the researcher's perspective.

2. Method

This study employs a qualitative approach with a descriptive method, aiming to understand and describe in depth social, cultural, and religious phenomena that cannot be explained through numerical or statistical procedures. This approach was chosen because the objects studied are related to the practice of tradition and the meaning of society, which emphasizes contextual and interpretive aspects [13]. In this case, the behavior, beliefs, and socio-religious practices of society are the main focus of the analysis.

Descriptive methods are used to study the actual situation and conditions in society, including thoughts, local values, and cultural practices that are still alive today. Normative legal approaches are also used to study the suitability between the intended traditional practices and the norms of Islamic law and applicable positive law [14].

The location of this research is in Pulau Tengah Village, Keliling Danau District, Kerinci Regency, Jambi Province. The data sources used comprise both primary and secondary data. Primary data were collected through direct observation and in-depth interviews with one of the community leaders of Pulau Tengah Village, particularly those involved in the Ratib Saman tradition.

The secondary data comes from relevant library materials, including documents, legal literature, and academic references that discuss customs, local wisdom, and Islamic legal perspectives on community traditions. These secondary data include primary and secondary legal sources that support the normative analysis in this study.

In the data analysis stage, the researcher applies a qualitative descriptive analysis method, where the data obtained are processed, described, and logically connected to present a structured and systematic narrative, thereby clearly answering the problem formulation [15]. The analysis process comprises three main stages: data reduction, data display, and drawing conclusions. Data reduction involves filtering important information, focusing on the main points, and eliminating irrelevant data. Furthermore, the filtered data is arranged in the form of a narrative description to facilitate understanding. The final stage is drawing conclusions based on the patterns, meanings, and relationships found in the data.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. History and Practice of Ratib Saman Tradition

Pulau Tengah, as part of a traditional region rich in culture and religion, has a long history of spreading Islamic teachings. One of the central figures in the Islamization of this region was a cleric known to the local community as "Sheikh". Although his complete identity is not formally recorded, his presence and role were very significant in shaping the face of Islam in Pulau Tengah. The Sheikh is known to have traveled to various regions, including Payakumbuh. After wandering for a long time, he returned to Pulau Tengah around 1697. Upon his return from wandering, he focused his preaching activities on Pulau Tengah, by establishing a surau as a center for religious education. Through this surau, he taught the community monotheism, worship, and tarekat. Many students from various regions came to study with him.

The first surau he built became the starting point for the development of Islamic education in Pulau Tengah. The existence of the surau remained, even when a major fire occurred on January 6, 1939, that hit part of Pulau Tengah; the surau did not burn down. This further strengthened the community's belief in the blessings of the place. With the increasing number of worshipers and the limited capacity of the surau, community leaders, including the Ninik Mamak, began to initiate the establishment of a larger mosque. In 1980, through a mutual agreement, the construction of the Keramat Pulau Tengah Mosque began. This process involved many parties, including two

grandchildren of the cleric, namely Tuanku H. Raha and H. Ratih, who were sent to Mataram to study the architectural structure of the mosque and broaden their Islamic insight.

During the process of building the mosque and strengthening the teachings of the tarekat, a close intellectual relationship also developed between the ulama of Pulau Tengah and the international Islamic world. One of his children had performed the hajj pilgrimage by sea from Aceh (with a journey of about six months) and had the opportunity to study in Demak and Mecca. In Mecca, he studied with Sheikh Abdul Shomad Alfani al-Baruni, a prominent ulama from Palembang. The meeting between the ulama of Pulau Tengah and Sheikh Abdul Shomad had a significant impact, particularly on the spread of the Samaniyah Tarekat in Pulau Tengah. The teachings brought from Mecca, such as the *dhikr la ilaha illallah* in congregation with standing (upright) movements, became a characteristic of the implementation of dhikr in Pulau Tengah, which later became known as Ratib Saman.

After a long journey to study and perform the Hajj, the students of previous ulama returned to Tengah Island, bringing the legacy of the dhikr they had learned. One form of dhikr that they bring is the sentence *la ilaha illallah*, which is then enriched with additional readings such as hu Allah, Allah, hu, Allahu, and so on. These sentences are not just ritual readings, but are also a spiritual means to connect oneself to God and strengthen awareness of monotheism in society. These teachings were immediately conveyed to the people of the Central Islands and quickly became an important part of their religious life.

The arrival of these students to Pulau Tengah brought not only knowledge, but also an important mission: to establish a large mosque as a center of worship and community development. The planned mosque would later be known as the Masjid al-Haram, also commonly referred to as the Sacred Mosque. The search for a location began, taking into account spiritual, geographical, and customary factors. The mosque was not only designed as a place of worship, but also as a symbol of the continuity of the teachings of the tarekat and Islamic values that had been inherited by their predecessors.

However, the process of building the mosque was not easy. At that time, there were no modern tools such as technical drawings, pencils, or architectural measuring instruments as we know them today. Planning was done traditionally, even to draw sketches, the community had to use stones as aids. These technical difficulties did not hinder their collective determination. With mutual cooperation and a spirit of togetherness, the construction process proceeded. The mosque then became the centre of the community's spiritual and social life, as well as a tangible symbol of their sincerity in preserving and continuing their religious heritage.

The construction of the mosque and the spread of dhikr were not just ordinary events in the history of Pulau Tengah, but also became important milestones in the journey of local civilization. It reflects the strength of tradition, the perseverance in preserving the legacy of the ulama, and the community's ability to build with the values they believe in, even amidst limitations. The legacy of the Sheikh and his generation extended beyond physical buildings and rituals alone. It became the religious identity of the Pulau Tengah community. These spiritual traces are still alive, felt in the spirit of togetherness of the congregation, in the chanting of dhikr, and in the determination to maintain the teachings inherited from their predecessors. The Sacred Mosque is not only a centre of worship, but also a symbol of blessing, unity, and continuity of religious traditions that are deeply rooted in the local ulama's role.

The Sheikh who became a central figure in the spread of Islam in Pulau Tengah is known to have two wives and four children. His first wife gave birth to three children: Kali Raje, H. Raha and H. Ratih. His second wife had a child named Teungku Beruke. The Acehnese accent is almost the same as the Central Island accent. This is an indication of the strong Acehnese traces in Pulau Tengah, both genealogically and culturally. For example, in Pulau Tengah, there is Ratib Saman, while in Aceh, there is Tari Saman.

The people of Pulau Tengah have a hereditary story about a shared dream that came to several figures when they were about to build a mosque. In the dream, they saw a large, sturdy tree, complete with long, spiritual markings. This dream was considered a call to begin construction at the designated location. Preparations began. Everyone who received the dream guidance played a role in inviting

residents from neighboring villages to come and help. This is where the tradition of deliberation and cooperation emerged. Large pieces of wood from the forest were brought down together, and the location of the mosque was determined. Not only that, but an old prayer room was also relocated to a new location, symbolising the shift of the spiritual centre of the community to the larger mosque's site.

A unique story happened when the community cleared land for development. One of the traditional leaders stated that the community at that time was surprised to find a large stone that could be lifted and moved without the use of heavy equipment. Two explanations are believed: first, the stone could have been moved because of spiritual power emanating from the figures previously buried at the location. Second, it is believed that Allah made the construction easier as a form of blessing because it was carried out with the intention of worship and the unity of the community. The formation of the work team was carried out spontaneously. The Ninik Mamak, traditional leaders, and young people gathered to begin construction. One note state that around 25 young people who could call to prayer were assigned to stand at each pole. After the call to prayer, they would perform the *hajat* prayer, and then pray for *istighosah*. After that, the Ratib Saman was carried out, marking the beginning of the Ratib Saman's ongoing tradition. Ratib Saman itself is an inseparable part of the development process. This dhikr tradition serves as a kind of opening before the commencement of the major work, carried out with full solemnity.

Since then, Ratib Saman has been used by the people of the central island, especially when the mosque management changes, which occurs every three years. Second, during a grand event or a visit from the regent and governor. Third, when a major disaster occurs, such as the flood that ended in 2023, it provides a momentum for the community to pray collectively. Ratib Saman also has flexibility in implementation. In one year, Ratib can be carried out more than once, depending on the agreement of the Ninik Mamak and ulama. It doesn't have to be at night; Ratib can even be done during the day if the situation is urgent or becomes a community need.

In carrying out Ratib Saman, a series of activities precede and accompany the dhikr procession. Before starting, the congregation usually sits down first. After the command is given, the dhikr is performed in a standing position, following the traditional movement pattern. These signals mark the transition from readiness to ritual implementation.

Regarding the recitation of prayers, there are two variants in the Ratib Saman practice that have developed in the Central Island community. First, there is a short version that is usually performed during grand events or visits by the regent and governor. Second, there is a longer version that is often used in situations related to disasters or major life changes. In this version, dhikr and prayers are arranged completely and comprehensively, reflecting a higher spiritual intensity. Prayers are usually recited in a sitting position, after the Ratib dhikr is finished. In a more complete implementation, this procession is followed by greetings among the congregation. Usually, the imam of the mosque or the main figure leads the prayer, starting with the reading of Al-Fatihah aloud by the Sheikh or Bilal, followed by the guide who recites the prayer collectively. The duration of the Ratib Saman implementation is very dependent on the inner mood of the congregation and the leadership of the imam. The more solemn and enjoyable the atmosphere created, the longer the dhikr and prayers that are recited. This shows the flexibility and spiritual depth in the implementation of Ratib Saman as a living religious tradition.

In the spiritual practice of Muslims, dhikr is highly recommended. Both the Qur'an and the hadith encourage Muslims to increase dhikr, but do not set standard rules regarding its form or movement. Therefore, in its implementation, society has creative and traditional space to develop forms of dhikr that are in accordance with local values. Some of them are known through *tahlil*, Ratib, and other forms of dhikr inherited from previous scholars.

The purpose of performing dhikr also varies, depending on the context and intention. In some conditions, dhikr is performed as a form of ritual to ward off disaster, especially when a disaster or threat of an epidemic occurs. One form of dhikr that is alive and developing in the Pulau Tengah community is Ratib Saman. As a concrete example, when the COVID-19 pandemic occurred, the

Pulau Tengah community was directed by the Depati and Ninik Mamak to perform Ratib Saman. This ritual is performed for three consecutive evenings in front of their respective homes.

Additionally, there are dhikr activities in the mosque before Maghrib. In the social structure of indigenous communities, the roles of Nini Mamak and customary guides, such as Nini Kambi, are very important in organising the implementation of this dhikr. The series of rituals typically concludes with the recitation of *hajat* prayers for three consecutive nights. If it is not carried out in full, then the Ratib Saman dhikr is sufficient, unless there is a special visit that causes an exception.

Although Ratib Saman has become an integral part of the community's religious identity, there are no specific sanctions for those who do not observe it within a year. This suggests that Ratib Saman is not a Sharia obligation, but rather a form of spiritual expression institutionalised through custom. On the other hand, differences of opinion also arise from some groups who consider this form of dhikr to be inconsistent with formal worship and are even categorised as heretical. However, the agreement between the ulama and Ninik Mamak remains a legitimate basis for its continued existence to this day.

The geographical location of Pulau Tengah plays an important role in the development of this tradition. In the past, the area was a rice field and a swamp area formed from an ancient volcanic eruption. Lake Kerinci itself is the result of a large volcanic eruption, and the Pulau Tengah area is situated between three active volcanoes: Mount Masurai, Mount Kerinci, and an inactive volcano, Mount Raya or Mount Kuniyit. In the past, this area was a vast swamp that reached the foot of the hill. When the geographical conditions began to dry up, people began to move from the forest to this area and establish settlements called *pondok tengah*. The name Pulau Tengah refers to the geographical location of the settlement, which is situated on an island surrounded by water and lakes. Over time, this area developed into a social and religious center for the community.

Thus, Ratib Saman is not just a worship practice, but also a reflection of the intersection between religion, culture and local history. This tradition serves as evidence of how the Central Island people maintain the continuity of their spiritual heritage, as well as demonstrating that local forms of Islam can coexist in harmony with traditional [12].

Specifically, in the Kerinci region, the teachings of the Sammaniyah Order were spread by two local figures, namely Haji Ratch and Haji Raha, who were the sons of a charismatic cleric known as Syekh Kuat or Syekh Kulhu. The nickname "Syekh Kuat" was given because he possessed high spiritual power, thanks to his profound mastery of Sufism. The name "Kulhu" itself comes from his habit of consistently teaching and inviting the community to read the Al-Ikhlâs Letter (Qul Huwa Allahu Ahad). Because of his perseverance in spreading the teachings, the Kerinci community knows him better as "Syekh", as a form of respect for his knowledge [12].

Ratib linguistically means structured, regular, orderly. Ratib Saman itself is a series of dhikr. In simple terms, Ratib is a series of prayers, dhikr and reading of the Koran that is done regularly. This collection of dhikr and prayers, often read regularly, is known as a Ratib. In Sufism, Ratib is a form of dhikr taught by clerics or teachers and recited at certain times, either by individuals or groups, according to the rules set by its compiler. Ratib, compiled by tarekat teachers, aims to strengthen a person's faith in Allah and offer prayers for wishes, requests, or protection. Dhikr in Ratib usually consists of verses from the Qur'an containing *tahlil* (confirmation of the oneness of Allah), *tasbih* (purification of Allah), *tahmid* (praise of Allah), *taqdis* (purification of Allah), *istighfar* (application for forgiveness from Allah), *hauqolah* (glorification of Allah's name), the Prophet's blessings, and other prayers. Ratib can be understood as a collection of verses from the Koran and Asmaul Husna (the great names of Allah) [16].

3.2. The Concept of Urf in Islamic Law

In the context of Indonesian history, before the arrival of Islam, some communities already had customary and cultural systems that were not explicitly based on the Qur'an and Sunnah. This was because these customs were products of pre-Islamic society. However, after Islam entered and was widely adopted by Indonesian society, various local traditions remained and were preserved, as long as they continued to serve as guidelines in social life. Thus, Indonesian Muslim society in general still

accepts certain customary practices by integrating their values into Islamic teachings [17]. *'Urf*, in the context of Islamic law, refers to customs that live and develop in society that do not conflict with the principles of sharia. Linguistically, *'urf* comes from the word meaning "known" or "commonly done" [10].

Etymologically, *'urf* comes from the word *'arafa-ya'rifu*, which means: something known and good, something that is highest, sequential, recognition, and patience. In terminology, *'urf* is a state that is fixed in humans, justified by reason and also accepted by healthy nature. This definition explains that words and actions that are rarely done and have not been accustomed to by a group of people cannot be called *'urf*. Likewise, things that have become habits, but they originate from lust and lust, such as drinking alcohol and free sex, which have become a tradition of a group of people, cannot be categorized as *'urf*. This means that *'urf* is not a habit that deviates from norms and rules [18].

In the context of Arab society, there is a term in Islam that refers to customs, namely *'urf*. Referring to the opinion of Zahrah (d. 1973 AD), *'urf* is defined as something that is widely known and has become a habit in a particular community, both in the form of speech and actions. Az-Zuhaili emphasized that the terms *'urf* and customs are often used interchangeably in Arabic. *'Urf* is classified into two types, namely *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* (good customs and in accordance with sharia) and *'urf fāsid* (customs that deviate or conflict with sharia). An *urf* can be used as a basis for determining Islamic law if it meets several criteria, including: bringing benefits and being in accordance with common sense; being widely recognized by the local community; having been practiced before formal legislation; there is no special text that regulates the issue; and it does not conflict with the principles contained in the Qur'an and Hadith. According to Syarifuddin, the practice of *'urf* in society reflects a long-standing acceptance of a custom. If the custom has been practiced by the majority of scholars, then implicitly it can be considered a form of *ijma' sukūṭī* (tacit agreement). Many people follow and maintain customs because they are believed to bring benefits and *maslahah*. Therefore, rejecting *'urf* means rejecting *maslahah*, whereas in the principles of Islamic law, all parties agree to take things that bring benefits, even though they are not explicitly mentioned in the text [19].

The concept of *'urf* is understood differently by scholars; some distinguish it from custom, while others consider the two to be identical. One of those who distinguishes between *'urf* and custom is Ahmad Fahmi Abu Sinah. According to him, linguistically, *'urf* means something that is known or recognized, while custom refers to habits that are carried out repeatedly without always involving rational considerations. In his view, *'urf* includes the collective practices of a society, both in the form of speech and action, although it does not explicitly mention the element of rationality in its definition. If examined further, Abu Sinah's view that distinguishes between *'urf* and custom shows that he is implying the existence of a rational dimension in *'urf*. Inaccuracy arises if the definition is interpreted as having nothing to do with reason at all. Therefore, of the two possible interpretations, the view that acknowledges the existence of rationality in *'urf* is more accountable, especially since Abu Sinah himself clearly distinguishes between the two. The difference between *'urf* and custom also becomes clearer if we refer to the definition given by the fuqaha, as quoted by al-Jidl, which states that *'urf* is a custom that develops in society and is in accordance with common sense and good character.

In the treasury of *ushul fiqh*, scholars divide *'urf* (customs prevailing in society) into several types. In general, *'urf* is divided into two, namely *'urf sahih* (legitimate customs) and *'urf fasid* (damaged customs). However, in a broader perspective, *'urf* can also be classified into three types based on its object, scope, and suitability with sharia.

First, *'urf* is based on the object (al-*'urf al-tabi'i*). This type consists of: *'Urf qawli or lafdzi*, which is the habit of society in using a term with a meaning that is different from the meaning of the original language, but can still be generally understood. For example, the word *al-walad* in Arabic means 'child,' either male or female, but in the community's customs, it is understood to refer to a boy. Likewise, the word "meat" is typically understood to mean beef, although linguistically it can refer to any type of meat. *'Urf 'amali*, which is a habit related to social actions or practices. This can include daily activities that do not involve other people (such as work or holidays at certain times), or in the

context of *muamalah*, for example, the habit of sellers delivering heavy goods to buyers' homes without the need for a written agreement [20].

Second, '*urf*' is based on its scope. In this category, there are: '*Urf 'am*', which is a custom that applies widely in various regions and levels of society. For example, in the sale and purchase of vehicles, equipment such as keys and repair tools is considered included in the selling price without needing to be explicitly stated. '*Urf khas*', a custom that applies to a limited extent in certain environments, such as among traders, involves an unwritten rule that defective goods can be returned to the seller [21].

Third, '*urf*'-based on its conformity with the Sharia. This type is divided into: '*Urf sahih*', which is a custom that does not contradict the sharia evidence, does not cause harm, and contains benefits. An example is the tradition of the groom giving a gift to the prospective bride when engaged, which is not considered a dowry. '*Urf fasid*', which is a custom that contradicts the principles of Islamic law. For example, the practice of borrowing money accompanied by interest or certain additional payments that fall into the category of usury [22].

The scholars agree that not all '*urf*' can be used as evidence to establish Islamic law. '*urf*' can be accepted as one of the legal bases if it fulfills the following conditions: (1) It does not conflict with sharia; (2) It does not cause harm and does not eliminate benefits; (3) It is generally accepted among Muslims; (4) It does not apply in *mahdhoh* worship; (5) The '*urf*' is already popular when it is determined as one of the legal benchmarks [23]. In short, '*urf*' that can be used as evidence is a tradition that is common, consistent, does not conflict with sharia, is not detrimental, and existed before the legal case arose.

Customs ('*urf*') that develop in society can basically be in accordance with or contradict the provisions contained in the text or other sharia evidence. In the context of the conflict between '*urf*' and text, the scholars of *ushul fiqh* provide the following classification and explanation: First, the conflict between '*urf*' and text that is specific (*tafshili*), if a form of '*urf*' contradicts a text that has detailed and specific legal provisions, so that the validity of the law contained in the text is obstructed, then the '*urf*' cannot be accepted as a legal basis. In this case, the position of the text is more important than social customs [24]. Both '*Urf*' contradict the general text. According to Musthafa Ahmad al-Zarqa', if '*urf*' already existed before the general text was revealed, it is necessary to distinguish between: '*Urf lafzhi*', related to terms/phrases. If the '*urf*' was established before the arrival of the general text, it can be used as a basis for carrying out *takhshīs* to specify the meaning of the general text as long as it does not contradict the content of the text itself '*Urf 'amali*', the opinion of the Hanafi *madzhab* scholars allows '*urf 'amali*' general to provide space for the specialization of the text, but does not eliminate the validity of the text as a whole [25]. Third, the contradiction between the '*urf*' that appears after the general text and the contents of the text, If the community's customs are formed after the existence of a general text, and then there is a contradiction between the two, then the majority of Islamic scholars agree that this kind of '*urf*', whether it is *lafzhi* or '*amali*', cannot be used as evidence in determining sharia law. This is because the existence of this '*urf*' does not have the power to cancel or change the legal provisions that have been generally determined by the sharia text. Musthafa Ahmad al-Zarqa' emphasized that '*urf khās*' emerged along with certain social changes and conditions, so that the number is very large and dynamic [26].

3.3. Analisis Perspektif 'Urf terhadap Ratib Saman

The Ratib Saman tradition, which has evolved and developed within the Central Island community, is a form of religious expression rich in spiritual values and incorporating elements of local culture. This tradition not only functions as a collective *dhikr* practice but also as a means of social unification, strengthening religious identity, and a medium for preserving religious heritage. From an Islamic legal perspective, this kind of practice can be analyzed through the concept of '*urf*' (customs or traditions) which has found a place in the literature of *ushul fiqh* as one of the considerations in determining the law, especially in the realm of *muamalah*. '*Urf*', by definition, refers to customs that live in society and are widely accepted, as long as they do not conflict with the texts or principles of sharia. In the context of Ratib Saman, this practice has been carried out from

generation to generation, is known and accepted by all levels of society, and does not contain elements of deviation from sharia. In fact, the contents of dhikr and prayers in Ratib Saman represent a form of practising the recommended teachings of Islam, as found in many verses of the Qur'an and hadith that encourage Muslims to increase their dhikr to Allah.

Ratib Saman can be specifically categorised as '*urf 'amali* (practical customs), '*urf khāṣ* (local customs), and '*urf ṣaḥīḥ* (legal customs according to Sharia). This tradition has a strong structure and value of welfare, and has been part of people's lives long before the emergence of certain legal issues. Therefore, Ratib Saman meets the criteria as '*urf* that can be used as evidence, as has been formulated by classical and contemporary scholars of *ushul fiqh*.

The sustainability of Ratib Saman is also supported by the strong social and customary structure in Pulau Tengah. Its implementation is often initiated by Ninik Mamak and religious figures in response to significant events, such as disasters, visits by dignitaries, or changes in mosque management. In other words, Ratib Saman has undergone institutionalization within the social system of society, not only as a spiritual ritual but also as a cultural instrument that serves to maintain social cohesion and collective awareness.

Although some groups hold views that question the form of congregational dhikr with movements as an innovation of worship that is not known to the Prophet (bid'ah), the approach of *fiqh* and *ushul fiqh* shows that not all new things are automatically considered astray. As long as it does not violate the basic principles of Sharia and brings benefits, it can be accepted as a form of legitimate social and religious *ijtihad*. Ratib Saman, in this case, is a concrete example of how Islamic teachings can acculturate healthily with local culture, without losing the substance of divine values.

4. Conclusion

The Ratib Saman tradition, which originated in the Central Island community, embodies the dialectic between Islamic teachings and local culture, resulting in a unique and authentic form of religious expression. This tradition, which combines elements of dhikr, prayer, and ritual movements, not only functions as spiritual worship but also has a social function in strengthening solidarity and the collective identity of the community. From an Islamic legal perspective, Ratib Saman can be categorized as '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*, namely a custom that has taken root in society and does not conflict with the principles of sharia. Analysis of Ratib Saman shows that this practice meets the criteria as '*urf 'amali*, '*urf khas*, and '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*, which are widely accepted, contain benefits, and do not conflict with the *nash* sharia. Its institutionalised existence in local customary and religious structures demonstrates the social and normative legitimacy of this tradition. Thus, Ratib Saman deserves to be maintained and developed as part of the treasury of Nusantara Islam, which demonstrates Islam's ability to interact constructively with local cultural values as long as it does not deviate from the fundamental teachings of the religion.

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