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SOCIAL DYNAMICS AND CONTINUITY IN THE BATAMAT TRADITION ON BANJAR SOCIETY

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Abstract

This text explores the Batamat Al-Qur'an tradition from various perspectives, including the tradition, its social dynamics and its survival in modern Banjar society. Batamat Al-Qur'an is a tradition deeply embedded in the lives of the Banjar people, which has experienced various forms of interaction, friction, change, negotiation and adjustment with various social, economic, political and technological factors. The main question of this article is what is the variety, social dynamics and sustainability of the Batamat Al-Qur'an tradition in contemporary Banjar society? This research uses a phenomenological approach by conducting in-depth interviews with 25 individuals with different backgrounds relevant to this topic. The interviews were analysed and categorised based on findings, narratives and descriptions of the Batamat Al-Qur'an tradition in Banjar society. The main findings show that the Batamat Al-Qur'an tradition continues to interact, adapt and negotiate with the changes taking place in contemporary Banjar society. Various factors have influenced this tradition, reflecting the social, economic and political dynamics of Banjar society, including changes in social, religious and political aspects. In addition, the Batamat Al-Qur'an tradition still exists in this era of information technology and reflects the development of increasingly diverse models of Qur'anic khatam, especially in urban areas.

Abstrak

Tulisan ini mengeksplorasi tradisi Batamat Al-Qur'an dari berbagai perspektif, termasuk tradisi, dinamika sosial, dan keberlangsungannya di tengah masyarakat Banjar modern. Batamat Al-Qur'an adalah sebuah tradisi yang melekat kuat dalam kehidupan masyarakat Banjar yang telah mengalami berbagai bentuk interaksi, gesekan, perubahan, negosiasi dan penyesuaian dengan berbagai faktor sosial, ekonomi, politik dan teknologi. Pertanyaan utama dari artikel ini adalah bagaimana variasi, dinamika sosial dan keberlanjutan tradisi Batamat Al-Qur'an dalam masyarakat Banjar kontemporer? Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan fenomenologi dengan melakukan wawancara mendalam terhadap 25 orang dengan latar belakang yang berbeda yang relevan dengan topik ini. Hasil wawancara dianalisis dan dikategorikan berdasarkan temuan, narasi, dan deskripsi tentang tradisi Batamat Al-Qur'an di masyarakat Banjar. Temuan utama menunjukkan bahwa tradisi Batamat Al-Qur'an terus berinteraksi, beradaptasi, dan bernegosiasi dengan perubahan yang terjadi di masyarakat Banjar kontemporer. Berbagai faktor telah mempengaruhi tradisi ini, yang mencerminkan dinamika sosial, ekonomi, dan politik masyarakat Banjar, termasuk perubahan dalam aspek sosial, agama, dan politik. Selain itu, tradisi Batamat Qur'an tetap eksis di era teknologi informasi ini dan merefleksikan perkembangan model khatam Qur'an yang semakin beragam, terutama di daerah perkotaan.

Kata kunci: Batamat Al-Qur'an, masyarakat Banjar, dinamika, kontinuitas

INTRODUCTION

Khataman al-Qur'an is a celebratory event marking the completion of the entire Qur'an recitation, typically undertaken by a child. While the ceremony can be conducted in a simple manner, it is often characterized by a festive atmosphere. This tradition, celebrated as an expression of gratitude for completing the Qur'anic reading, is frequently examined in studies of the Living Qur'an. The tradition of reciting the Qur'an in most Muslim communities in the archipelago has different names, ranging from the tradition of Raatib Togak in Kuantan Singingi¹, *Katam Kaji* on Pauh Kamang Mudiak parish, Agam², *Tamma' Mangaji* and *Sayyang Pattu'du* in West Sulawesi³, *Mampanre Temme* on Bugis society⁴, dan *Batamat Qur'an* on Banjar parish⁵.

The Batamat Quran tradition within Banjar society has been the subject of considerable scholarly review. However, many studies tend to focus on its role within the broader context of Banjar-style wedding ceremonies, such as Nurmah Jasman's writing, "The Customary Wedding Tradition of the Banjar Tribe Community Viewed in the Perspective of Islamic Da'wah in Teluk Sialang Village, Tungkal Ilir District"⁶; Nurhasanah Hasbullah, et.al, "Banjar Tribe *Bepapai* Ritual Tradition: *Mandi Tolak Bala* Candidate Bride Banjar Tribe Kuala-Tungkal Jambi Province, Indonesia"⁷; Gusti Muzainah, "Baantar Jujuran dalam Perkawinan Adat Masyarakat Banjar"⁸; Ngismatul

¹ Faysal Sumbari and Risdayati Risdayati, "Tradisi Khatam Qur'an (Raatib Togak) Di Desa Kampung Baru Kecamatan Cerenti Kabupaten Kuantan Singingi," *JOM FISIP* 3, no. 1 (2016): 1–15.

² Gusnanda Gusnanda, "Katam Kaji: Resepsi Al-Qur'an Masyarakat Pauh Kamang Mudiak Kabupaten Agam," *Mashdar: Jurnal Studi al-Qur'an Dan Hadis* 1, no. 1 (June 17, 2019): 67–82, https://doi.org/10.15548/mashdar.v1i1.211.

³ Mukarramah Mukarramah and Supriadi Torro, "Dampak Sayyang Pattu'du Terhadap Motivasi Anak Menamatkan al-Qur'an Di Desa Lombong Kecamatan Malunda Kabupaten Majene," *Jurnal Sosialisasi: Jurnal Hasil Pemikiran, Penelitian Dan Pengembangan Keilmuan Sosiologi Pendidikan* 6, no. 3 (2019): 78–83, https://doi.org/10.26858/sosialisasi.v0i0.13361; Asril Gunawan, "Musik Pa'rawana Dan Sayyang Pattuddu Dalam Prosesi Upacara Khatam Alquran Suku Mandar Di Provinsi Sulawesi Barat (Sebuah Pendekatan Etnomusikologis)," Journal of Culture, Arts, Literature, and Linguistics (CaLLs) 3, no. 2 (December 15, 2017): 109, https://doi.org/10.30872/calls.v3i2.877.

⁴ Endah Supriyani, "Tradisi Khatam Alqur'an Pada Pernikahan Suku Bugis Di Palembang (Studi Kasus Di 3 Ilir Palembang)" (diploma, Palembang, UIN Raden Fatah Palembang, 2018), http://perpustakaan.ac.id.

⁵ Alfani Daud, *Islam dan Masyarakat Banjar (Deskripsi dan Analisa Kebudayaan Banjar)* (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 1997), 248; Wardatun Nadhiroh, *Tradisi Kelisanan Dan Keaksaraan Al-Qur'an Di Tanah Banjar* (Banjarmasin: Antasari Press, 2018); Sugi, "Batamat Quran Tradisi Islami Orang Banjar," InfoPublik, 2019, https://infopublik.id/kategori/features/354227/Batamat-quran-tradisi-islami-orang-banjar; Norhabibah Norhabibah, "Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Islam Dalam Budaya Batamat Alquran Di Desa Guntung Papuyu Kecamatan Gambut Kabupaten Banjar" (Banjarmasin, UIN Antasari, 2020), https://idr.uin-antasari.ac.id/14224/.

⁶ Nurmah Abd Hamid H. Jasman, "Tradisi Adat Perkawinan Masyarakat Suku Banjar Ditinjau Dalam Perspektif Dakwah Islamiyah Di Desa Teluk Sialang Kecamatan Tungkal Ilir," *At-Tadabbur : Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 10, no. 2 (2020): 86–102.

⁷ Nurhasanah Nur and Muhammad Syahran Jailani, "Tradisi Ritual Bepapai Suku Banjar: Mandi Tolak Bala Calon Pengantin Suku Banjar Kuala-Tungkal Provinsi Jambi, Indonesia," *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora* 18, no. 2 (2020): 287–308, https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v18i2.3920.

⁸ Gusti Muzainah, "Baantar Jujuran Dalam Perkawinan Adat Masyarakat Banjar," *Al-Insyiroh: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 5, no. 2 (2019): 10–32, https://doi.org/10.35309/alinsyiroh.v5i2.3514.

Choiriyah, dkk, "Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Islam Dalam Tradisi Perkawinan Masyarakat Banjar Kota Palangka Raya"⁹; Noorthaibah, "Refleksi Budaya Muslim pada Adat Perkawinan Budaya Banjar di Kota Samarinda"¹⁰.

Unfortunately, the Batamat Qur'an tradition is seldom explored in depth or connected to other research areas. One notable exception is Norhabibah's thesis, which investigates the intersection of Batamat Qur'an culture with Islamic education, titled "Nilai-nilai Pendidikan Islam dalam Budaya Batamat Alquran di Desa Guntung Papuyu Kecamatan Gambut Kabupaten Banjar."¹¹

This article employs symbolic interactionism to examine the diversity, dynamics, and sustainability of the Batamat Qur'an tradition within Banjar society. This approach addresses the need for a more nuanced analysis, particularly concerning conflicts of interest, media influence, and the evolving dynamics of Qur'an recitation education related to the Batamat tradition. The data presented are derived from research conducted in Banjarmasin City, Banjar Regency, Tanah Bumbu, and Hulu Sungai Tengah. The aim of this study is to offer a comprehensive overview and highlight the latest trends in the Batamat Qur'an tradition in the Tanah Banjar region.

METHODS

This article employs a phenomenological approach to investigate the diversity of traditions, social dynamics, and sustainability processes within the Batamat Al-Qur'an tradition. It involves in-depth interviews with 25 participants, selected through a snowball sampling method based on their experience and knowledge of the Batamat Al-Qur'an tradition in Banjar society. These participants, who are either involved in teaching Qur'ān literacy or active in preserving Islamic traditions within Banjar society, were chosen for their ability to articulate their experiences and insights.

Interviews were conducted until data saturation was reached, with each informant recommending subsequent subjects for discussion. The interview data were then analyzed through a process of coding and classification to identify patterns and themes related to the Batamat Al-Qur'an tradition. This analysis aimed to uncover meaningful patterns and insights that address the research questions and provide a comprehensive understanding of the tradition's role and evolution within Banjar society.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION 1. Khataman al-Quran in Theological Discourse

⁹ Ngismatul Choiriyah, Ahmad Alghifari Fajeri, and Nurul Husna, "Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Islam Dalam Tradisi Perkawinan Masyarakat Banjar Kota Palangka Raya," *Jurnal Hadratul Madaniyah* 4, no. 1 (2017): 53–57, https://doi.org/10.33084/jhm.v4i1.1562.

¹⁰ Noorthaibah Noorthaibah, "Refleksi Budaya Muslim Pada Adat Perkawinan Budaya Banjar Di Kota Samarinda," *Fenomena* 4, no. 1 (2012): 17–30.

¹¹ Norhabibah, "Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Islam Dalam Budaya Batamat Alquran Di Desa Guntung Papuyu Kecamatan Gambut Kabupaten Banjar."

In the history of Islam, Khataman al-Qur'an has been an integral part of the Qur'anic recitation tradition since the time of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW), the early period of Islam. This practice continued to evolve during the era of the Companions, the Tabi'in, and remains a significant aspect of Muslim life today.

The recitation of the Qur'an is associated with numerous virtues, which serve as encouragement for Muslims to engage in it regularly. This is highlighted in the Qur'anic verses, such as QS. Fāțir: 29-30, which underscore the spiritual benefits and rewards of reading the Qur'an. *Verily those who recite the Book of Allah, and keep up prayer, and spend out of what We have given them, secretly and openly, are in a business which they shall not lose, in order that Allah may perfect His reward for them, and increase His bounty. For Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful.*¹² Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad, narrated from Uthman: "The best of you are those who learn the Qur'an and teach it."¹³ Abdullah ibn Mas'ud narrated that the Messenger of Allah said: Whoever recites one letter from the Book of Allah (the Qur'an) will get one good for it and ten good things like it (multiplied tenfold). I am not saying that alif lām mīm is one letter but that alif is one letter lām is one letter and mīm is one letter."¹⁴

The next report that clearly indicates the culture of reading and reciting the Qur'an at the time of the Prophet is found in the tradition of 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr which was narrated by Abu Dawud, al-Tirmidhi and Bukhari. 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr reported that he asked: 'O Messenger of Allah, how much should I recite the Qur'an?' He replied: In a month.' He said: 'Surely I am capable of more than that,' Abu Musa replied and the Prophet reduced it until he said: Recite it in seven (days).' He replied again: 'Surely I am capable of more than that.' The Prophet said: 'The one who recites the Qur'an in less than three days will not be understood.''"¹⁵

The narration above indicates that the practice of khataman al-Qur'an (completing the recitation of the Qur'an) has existed since the time of the Prophet Muhammad. The Companions would often complete the recitation of the Qur'an within three, five, or, at most, seven days. The Prophet himself initially recommended completing the recitation within a month. Later, Islamic jurists (fuqaha) offered four different opinions regarding the time limit for completing the recitation of the Qur'an: Firstly, it is recommended to complete the Qur'an in seven days and it is permissible to complete it in three days; Secondly, it is recommended to recite the Qur'an in three days. Anything less than three days is makrooh; Thirdly, it is mustahabb to recite the Qur'an in one month. It is

¹² Al-Quran Tajwid Dan Terjemahnya Dilengkapi Dengan Asbabun Nuzul Dan Hadits Sahih (Bandung: PT. Sygma Examedia Arkanleema, 2010), 437.

¹³ Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl Abū Abdillāh al-Bukhārī, *Ṣ aḥiḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 6 (Dār Ṭūq al-Najāh, 1422), 192, Nomor 5027; Abū Dawūd Sulaimān ibn al-Asy'ats al-Sijistānī, *Sunan Abi Dawūd*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Maktabah al-'A**ş** riyyah, n.d.), 70, Nomor 1452; Muḥammad ibn Īsā ibn Saurah ibn Mūsā ibn al-Daḥḥāk al-Tirmižī, *Al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr Sunan al-Tirmižī*, vol. 5 (Beirut: Dār al-Garb al-Islāmī, 1998), 175, Nomor 2909.

¹⁴ Muḥammad ibn Īsā ibn Saurah ibn Mūsā ibn al-Daḥḥāk al-Tirmiżī, *Al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr Sunan al-Tirmiżī*, vol. 5 (Beirut: Dār al-Garb al-Islāmī, 1998), 25, Nomor 2910.

¹⁵ al-Sijistānī, 2:54, Nomor 1390.

makrooh to recite less than five days and not less than three days; Fourth, there is no certain limit in reciting the Qur'an. This is adjusted to the condition of the reading.¹⁶

In other narrations, the tradition of celebrating khatm al-Qur'an (completing the recitation of the Qur'an) and praying upon its completion is rooted in the practices of the Companions, as recorded in mauquf-grade traditions. Some of these narrations can be found in Sunan al-Dārimī, specifically in the chapter on Khatm al-Qur'an. One such narration relates that when Anas ibn Malik completed the recitation of the Qur'an, he would gather his sons and family together and pray for them.¹⁷ Al-Hakam narrated that Mujahid told him: "We called you because we wanted to perform khatm al-Qur'an (the completion of the Qur'an), and we heard that prayers are answered during khatm al-Qur'an." He continued: "So they prayed, each making their own requests." This narration highlights that the tradition of completing the Qur'an is typically marked by communal prayer, often involving the invitation of others to join. Such gatherings were common among the Companions. The various narrations mentioned above demonstrate that the practice of reciting the Qur'an and performing khatm al-Qur'an are deeply interconnected and have become a unified tradition. The act of marking the completion of the Qur'an with collective prayer began during the time of the Companions and has continued to be observed to this day.

The tradition of khataman al-Qur'an in Indonesia is deeply intertwined with local customs, resulting in diverse forms of celebration that reflect community joy and involvement. In Banjar culture, Batamat Al-Qur'an—the completion of the Qur'an—is often conducted in large, public gatherings. This practice is not only a religious observance but also an integral part of Banjar identity. Scholars have long recognized the strong relationship between Islam and the Banjar people, noting that Islam has become a central aspect of their communal identity. Islam in Banjar society extends beyond religious practice, permeating various aspects of daily life and cultural expression.

Hairus Salim cites Judith Nagata, who states, "Religion is adat, adat is religion," highlighting the inseparable connection between Islam and Banjar customs. The tradition of khataman al-Qur'an, as mentioned earlier, has roots in practices dating back to the time of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Over time, this religious tradition has interacted with local culture, giving rise to Batamat Al-Qur'an in its current form. The blending of cultural and religious practices is evident in the way Banjar people have integrated khataman al-Qur'an into their identity and life rituals. Therefore, the fusion of local traditions with the khataman ritual is not only a strong cultural practice but also a defining element of the Banjar community's tribal identity.

¹⁶ Sumbari and Risdayati, "Tradisi Khatam Qur'an (Raatib Togak) Di Desa Kampung Baru Kecamatan Cerenti Kabupaten Kuantan Singingi," 6; Ahmad Salim, *Hukum Fikih Seputar al-Qur'an* (Jakarta: Ummul Qura, 2011), 191.

¹⁷ Abū Muḥammad Abdullāh ibn Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Faḍl ibn Bahrām ibn Abd al-Ṣ amad al-Dārimī, *Sunan Al-Dārimī*, vol. 4 (Dār al-Mughnī li al-Nasyr wa al-Tawzī', n.d.), 2180, Nomor 3517.

2. Batamat Quran Urang Banjar: Models, Beliefs and Symbols

The Banjar people are known for their strong religious observance, with the Qur'an holding a significant position and role in their society. Various religious traditions in Banjar culture, particularly those related to rites of passage, are closely intertwined with the Qur'an, including the practice of *khataman*. In Banjar society, the *khataman al-Qur'an* is referred to as *Batamat Quran*, or simply *Batamat*. The term "Batamat" is derived from the word "tamat," which means *khatam* or "finished."¹⁸ In the Banjar language, the prefix "ba" functions similarly to the prefix "be/ber" in Indonesian, indicating an activity or job. In Banjar, the letter "r" is often omitted in words describing actions, as seen in the term "Batamat." Therefore, Batamat Qur'an carries the same meaning as khataman al-Qur'an, signifying a celebration of successfully completing the recitation of all 30 juz of the Qur'an. However, during the Batamat Qur'an celebration, only the final part of the Qur'an is recited as a symbolic representation of having completed the entire text.¹⁹

The rituals in Banjar society, as mentioned earlier, are not solely performed to commemorate the success of an individual or group in completing the recitation of the entire Qur'an. In fact, some Batamat Qur'an practices are integral to the Banjar community's traditions, particularly during various rites of passage such as birth, marriage, coming of age, and death. The objectives behind incorporating Batamat into these traditions are diverse, but they primarily revolve around seeking blessings from the Qur'an.

The Banjar community typically prepares specific items, each with symbolic significance, as part of the Batamat tradition. These include Tapih Bahalai (sarong fabrics), Payung Kambang (flower umbrella), Baju Haji (pilgrim's robe), and treats like Lakatan Bahinti. The Tapih Bahalai (sarong fabrics) and a cushion are used as a base to place the Mushaf al-Qur'an on, although a rehal (book stand) is sometimes used instead. The Tapih Bahalai is usually stacked in layers, with an odd number of layers. The sarong is typically new, as it is often given to the teacher or ustadz who guided the Qur'an recitation to completion. Sometimes, families or relatives also take the sarong to receive blessings, hoping that they or their children will follow in the footsteps of those who have completed the recitation of the entire Qur'an. For the Banjar people, the use of Tapih Bahalai during the Batamat Qur'an symbolizes the honor of those who have completed the Qur'an before God. Their position is regarded as more honored than others.

In Banjar beliefs, the honor bestowed upon a king or official is symbolized by sitting on a throne adorned with a sarong or Tapih Bahalai. This symbol of honor also

¹⁸ Abdul Djebar Hapip, *Kamus Banjar-Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1977), 257.

¹⁹ Riza Saputra, "Dialektika Islam dan Budaya Lokal dalam Tradisi Batamat al-Qur'an Urang Banjar," *Mashdar: Jurnal Studi Al-Qur'an dan Hadis* 3, no. 1 (June 30, 2021): 5, https://doi.org/10.15548/mashdar.v3i1.2771.

reflects the pride parents feel in their children's achievements, particularly in their ability to recite the Qur'an proficiently and successfully complete its entire recitation.²⁰

In the Batamat Qur'an tradition, the Payung Kambang is typically prepared well in advance of the event. It is placed near the person completing the recitation or the participants of the khataman al-Qur'an. The Payung Kambang is a decorative flower arrangement (in Banjar language: Kambang) constructed from a circular bamboo frame with a central bamboo stick, resembling a multi-tiered umbrella. The circular frame is adorned with strings of flowers such as ylang-ylang, roses, cempaka, bunga kaca piring, and jasmine. It also features decorations made of oil paper or colorful paper, commonly red and white. Additionally, the wooden arrangement of the Payung Kambang may include banknotes, small mirrors, and various other ornaments.

The Payung Kambang is usually arranged in rows with an odd number of umbrellas. For the Banjar people, the use of an odd number of kambang symbolizes devotion to God, as odd numbers are believed to be favored by God, reflecting His attributes and names, which are also considered to be odd in number.²¹ The number of tiers in the Payung Kambang is also often linked to the economic status of the child's parents. The more tiers the wooden circle of the Payung Kambang has, the greater the perceived affluence of the child's family. Typically, three tiers are most common, aligning with the preference for odd numbers as described earlier.

The Banjar people believe that the Payung Kambang holds symbolic significance with at least three meanings. Firstly, as previously mentioned, the fragrant aroma of the flower arrangement represents the honor and glory of the individual who has completed the recitation of the Qur'an or the Batamat.²² Secondly, the Payung Kambang is believed by the Banjar people to function metaphorically like an umbrella that provides protection and shelter to the individual who has completed the recitation of the Qur'an on the final day.²³ Additionally, umbrellas are traditionally associated with the exaltation of sacred or esteemed figures, such as kings or officials, who are customarily shaded and protected from the sun. This symbolism extends to the Payung Kambang, reinforcing the honor and respect for those who have completed the recitation of the Qur'an.24 Thirdly, the Payung Kambang honors the veneration of the Qur'an. According to the Urang Banjar Bahari, the Qur'an is considered the word of God and is revered as a protective shelter, akin to an umbrella. The term kambang means "fragrant," symbolizing that the individuals who complete the recitation (Batamat) will have a blessed and esteemed life, much like the pleasant fragrance of the flowers.²⁵

The Batamat Quran celebration in the Banjar community is typically a vibrant and communal event, often involving many participants from the surrounding area. The

²⁰ Isa, Batamat Qur'an di Kalimantan Selatan dan TMII, July 4, 2021.

²¹ Saputra, "Dialektika Islam dan Budaya Lokal dalam Tradisi Batamat al-Qur'an Urang Banjar," 9.

²² Duhri, Sejarah Batamat Qur'an di Banjar, July 27, 2021.

²³ Fikri, Batamat ala Huffazh, August 6, 2021.

²⁴ Hudi, Batamat Qur'an di TPA, July 27, 2021.

²⁵ Isa, Batamat Qur'an di Kalimantan Selatan dan TMII.

festive atmosphere of the Batamat Qur'an is reflected in the attire worn by the participants. Although not mandatory, participants often wear Gamis (traditional Arab clothing), which is also worn by the Banjar community during the Hajj pilgrimage. This attire is seen as a symbol of blessing and is associated with the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. The *Gamis* represents a connection to the primary sources of Islam. For female participants, the attire is also distinctive. It usually includes a long white shirt, overlaid with a cape adorned with lace, and a bulang (a colorful head covering that partially covers the hair). Additionally, women may wear a *kakamban* or *kerudung* (headscarf), completing the ceremonial dress.²⁶ Similar to the attire worn by men, women's clothing for the Batamat Qur'an also reflects traditions associated with the Hajj pilgrimage. These garments, while inspired by traditional Hajj attire, feature distinct styles and designs that differ from those typically worn by women in Arab societies. The clothing symbolizes the honor and spiritual significance associated with the Hajj pilgrimage. Consequently, these garments are often purchased or borrowed from individuals who have completed the Hajj.

In addition to other preparations for the Batamat Qur'an tradition, food plays a significant role. A key dish that must be present during the khataman al-Qur'an is lakatan (sticky rice) served with hinti gula habang (grated coconut flavored with brown sugar). Eggs are also commonly served with the lakatan. This food is typically placed on a balai (a special table situated either in the center of the event or next to the Payung Kambang). Additional offerings, such as traditional cakes, chicken, and fruits, depending on the family's resources, are also provided on other balai.

Lakatan, or sticky rice, is considered an essential dish in the Batamat celebration due to its sticky nature. The Banjar people view this property symbolically, hoping that the practice and habit of reading the Qur'an will remain steadfast, like the sticky rice, throughout one's life. Additionally, the lakatan represents the notion that the teachings of the Qur'an, once learned, can yield sweet results when practiced and upheld.

The eggs—whether chicken, duck, or quail—are boiled, with some even dyed red, symbolizing *panarang hati* (illumination of the heart). The predominant white color of the eggs is considered a symbol of purity and enlightenment.²⁷ Some of these eggs are also distributed or sold to invitees, particularly children, with the hope that the children will receive the blessings of a pure heart.

In certain regions of South Kalimantan, especially in Amuntai and the Hulu Sungai area, the Batamat Qur'an celebration includes additional treats beyond lakatan and hinti. These may include sweets, sugar cane stalks, and ulatih (or walatih), which are snacks made from ripe lotus seeds mixed with brown sugar and molded into squares. These items are served and displayed in the hall during the khataman ceremony. Candied sugar cane stalks are segmented to symbolize the hope that the children participating in the Batamat will diligently recite each section of the Qur'an.

²⁶ Saputra, "Dialektika Islam dan Budaya Lokal dalam Tradisi Batamat al-Qur'an Urang Banjar," 10.

²⁷ Ulya, Batamat Urang Banjar di Kota Banjarmasin, July 27, 2021; Hudi, Batamat Qur'an di TPA.

This is interpreted by the Banjar people as a reminder for participants to maintain accuracy in their recitation, focusing on *harakat* (vowel marks) and *makhraj* (articulation points). The *ulatih* is intended to ensure that the recitation of the Qur'an by the child remains smooth and thorough, reflecting the desired quality of their reading.²⁸

The Batamat Qur'an rituals within the Banjar community are largely consistent, with minor differences often related to specific details and whether the event is conducted publicly or privately. In a public Batamat, participants, typically children, are paraded around their village or area before the khataman al-Qur'an begins, sheltered under a *Payung Kambang*. Upon reaching the event venue, participants are invited to sit on a *Tapih Bahalai*. In contrast, private *Batamat* events usually forgo the parade, and participants directly take their seats on the *Tapih Bahalai* under the *Payung Kambang*.

Once seated, whether in a public or private setting, participants face the Qur'an, which is placed on a folding table (rehal) or cushion. In front of them is typically a balai where lakatan and various other snacks are displayed. The *Batamat* is usually guided by a teacher who assists in reciting the Qur'an and corrects any mistakes. The event generally begins with a *tawassul* (recitation of al-Fatihah) to the Prophet Muhammad, often recited by all attendees.

The teacher then listens to the khataman participant's recitation, starting with Surah al-Dhuha and continuing with subsequent surahs from the final juz of the Qur'an until Surah al-Nas. This is followed by recitations of Surah al-Fatihah and Surah al-Baqarah (1-5). At the end of each surah recited, all guests join in reciting the verse, followed by the collective utterance of "Laa ilaha ilallahu wallahu akbar."

After completing the recitations, the ceremony continues with a joint recitation of Surah al-An'am (115): "Wa tammat kalimātu Robbika shidqan wa 'adlā, lā mubaddila likalimātihi, wa Huwa samī'ul-'alīm," repeated three times, and concludes with a prayer for the completion of the Qur'an led by the recitation teacher.²⁹

In some regions, at the conclusion of the *Batamat* ceremony, it is customary for the entire audience to vie for the offerings placed in front of the *Batamat* child, such as boiled eggs, cakes, and fruits. This tradition even includes a practice where, during the recitation of Surah al-Fil ("Alam tara kaifa fa'ala…"), the treats are made available for guests to take before the ceremony officially ends.³⁰ According to Riza's notes, the word choice in the verse "alam tara kai…" bears a syllabic resemblance to the Banjar language. In Banjar, the word "tarakai" means "broken" or "destroyed." This meaning is linked to the reason for the revelation of Surah al-Fil, which recounts the event when Muslims faced an attack by an army of elephants led by King Abrahah, who sought to destroy the Kaaba. However, by Allah's intervention, the Muslims not only survived but also triumphed, while Abrahah's army was defeated and destroyed by the Ababil

²⁸ Nura, Batamat Qur'an di Amuntai, August 3, 2021.

²⁹ Saputra, "Dialektika Islam dan Budaya Lokal dalam Tradisi Batamat al-Qur'an Urang Banjar," 13–15.

³⁰ Ulya, Batamat Urang Banjar di Kota Banjarmasin.

birds sent by Allah.³¹ Thus, a small tradition within the *Batamat* ceremony is considered quite intriguing.

The khataman event typically concludes with a communal meal. Snacks and cakes, such as lakatan, which are initially displayed in front of the khataman participants, are often transported to the kitchen or a designated back room. There, they are cut into portions for serving and distribution among the invited guests.

At the end of the event, it is customary for the khataman family to present a gift to the Qur'an teacher. This gift may include a white turban, dining utensils, monetary contributions, mats, prayer rugs, rice, sugar, coconuts, and other items, depending on the financial capacity of the child's family. This gesture is intended to honor the teacher and seek blessings. Additionally, the teacher is given a portion of the lakatan as a token of appreciation and a symbol of blessings to take home.³²

The majority of Batamat Qur'an ceremonies are typically held at the location where the participants are receiving their Qur'anic instruction. Historically, however, the Banjar community also conducted personalized Batamat ceremonies at the teacher's residence, though this practice has become increasingly rare. For group events, participants often pool their resources to cover the costs associated with the ceremony. In individual cases, parents generally prepare various snacks and meals for the Batamat celebration, which takes place at their child's Qur'anic education center.

There are at least five distinct types of Batamat Qur'an commonly practiced by the Banjar community, namely: Batamat Kanakan, Batamat Pangantin, Batamat Kubur Maniga Hari, Batamat Tadarusan, and Batamat for Specific Purposes. The following sections provide detailed descriptions of the procedures associated with each variety of Batamat Qur'an.

a. Batamat Kanakan (Children's Khataman)

The majority of Banjar communities typically require children to begin learning to recite the Qur'an (mangaji) starting around the ages of six to seven.³³ Historically, Qur'anic education in Banjar society was conducted according to three primary patterns: instruction at home, typically led by parents; education at the residence of a Tuan Guru (a religious scholar or teacher) who provided instruction at his own home; and education conducted in a mosque or langgar, usually overseen by the kyai (cleric) of the mosque or langgar. In each of these models, it was essential for the teacher to possess qualified expertise in Qur'anic recitation. This Qur'anic education was generally conducted after the Maghrib prayer.³⁴ or in the morning after Fajr prayers ³⁵.

³¹ Saputra, "Dialektika Islam dan Budaya Lokal dalam Tradisi Batamat al-Qur'an Urang Banjar," 14.
³² Saputra, 11.

³³ Daud, Islam dan Masyarakat Banjar (Deskripsi dan Analisa Kebudayaan Banjar), 143; Nadhiroh, Tradisi Kelisanan Dan Keaksaraan Al-Qur'an Di Tanah Banjar, 49; Saputra, "Dialektika Islam dan Budaya Lokal dalam Tradisi Batamat al-Qur'an Urang Banjar," 5.

³⁴ Zaidin, Batamat Qur'an di Barabai, July 31, 2021.

³⁵ Nura, Batamat Qur'an di Amuntai.

The rapid development of Qur'anic education in Banjar society is marked by the emergence of various educational models, methods, and policies, both regional and institutional. Notably, the establishment of Taman Pendidikan al-Qur'an (TPA/TPQ) in the early 2000s has led many parents to prefer these institutions for their children's Qur'anic education. This preference is largely influenced by parents' work schedules, which often extend into the afternoon or even late into the night. Consequently, the responsibility of teaching Qur'anic reading and writing has shifted to TPAs located near their homes. Children typically attend these institutions from noon after formal school until after the Asr prayer, with some TPAs operating after Asr and concluding before Maghrib. In the past decade, the introduction of tahfiz houses has further transformed Qur'anic education, altering methods and traditions associated with the Qur'an. These tahfiz houses often operate independently of the Qur'anic traditions prevalent in Banjar society.

As previously noted, these changes have impacted the interaction and implementation of Qur'anic traditions within Banjar society. Recently, children who complete the recitation of the Qur'an tend to hold modest celebratory rituals with their Qur'anic teacher and peers at their place of study—whether at the teacher's home, a TPA/TPQ, or a tahfiz house. Additionally, the traditional Batamat attire, commonly associated with Hajj, has largely fallen out of use. In TPAs/TPQs, this traditional clothing has been replaced by sasirangan fabrics or other specially sewn garments for the event. Mrs. Hamra, the caregiver of a TPA/TPQ in Banjarmasin, noted that her students now wear sasirangan shirts ordered specifically for Batamat, and the traditional Batamat attire is rarely worn or available for purchase. Only one shop in Sudimampir Market offers these garments, with a very limited selection.³⁶

Despite numerous changes in the Batamat tradition within Banjar society, the lakatan snack remains a steadfast element of the celebration. Typically, administrators of TPA (Taman Pendidikan al-Qur'an) or Rumah Tahfiz continue to include lakatan in their khataman ceremonies, considering it a mandatory component alongside hinti gula habang. Although the payung kambang (decorative umbrella) is less common, efforts are still made to include it where possible.

It is evident that the Banjar community remains committed to celebrating their children's first khatam al-Qur'an, whether through individual or mass khataman organized by TPA or TPQ. Traditionally, the Banjar people have made considerable efforts to ensure that the lakatan served at their child's Batamat event is sourced from their own harvest. Mrs. Zhafa, a TPA teacher and village Qur'anic recital instructor in Barabai, reports that parents often consult her about their children's Qur'anic recitation milestones. This allows them to plan in advance, including planting and cultivating lakatan (sticky rice) and preparing duck eggs for the Batamat celebration.³⁷ This scene seemed to be quite familiar among peasants.

³⁶ Hamra, Batamat Qur'an di TPA, July 27, 2021.

³⁷ Zhafa, Batamat Qur'an di Barabai, August 10, 2021.

Typically, children participating in the Batamat will contribute financially according to an agreement with the committee to cover the costs associated with the preparation of the payung kambang and the event's refreshments. In some cases, the committee also provides the lakatan, hinti gula habang, and eggs. Occasionally, parents will prepare the lakatan themselves. At the conclusion of the event, parents usually assemble a food bundle consisting of cut lakatan with hinti gula habang on top, along with ulatih, and sometimes a glass of drinking water. This food bundle is distributed to the children's friends after the teacher has recited a congratulatory prayer..³⁸

This overview covers the *Batamat kanakan* ceremony, whether conducted individually or in groups. However, due to changing times and pandemic conditions, it has become increasingly rare to find festive celebrations of this event in recent years.

b. Batamat Pangantin (Khataman for Brides)

In Banjar society, the "Batamat" is traditionally held as part of the premarriage rituals. This ceremony serves as a testament to the community that the bride-to-be is proficient in reading the Qur'an and adheres to the teachings of Islam. In most areas of South Kalimantan, this tradition is typically observed solely by the bride-to-be, reflecting the view that women, as the foundation of the family, bear the responsibility for imparting Qur'anic knowledge to their children.

However, in the regencies of Amuntai and Barabai, the "Batamat" may also involve both the prospective bride and groom. This joint ceremony is conducted before the wedding contract (akad) and can be held either simultaneously at a single location (often the bride's house), or separately at the homes of the bride and groom. The timing of the "Batamat" is scheduled based on the wedding ceremony, with the event taking place either the evening before or the morning of the akad, depending on whether the wedding is set for the morning or afternoon.³⁹ If the marriage ceremony is scheduled for the morning, the "Batamat pangantin" is held either in the evening before or on the day preceding the wedding. Conversely, if the marriage contract is set for the afternoon, the "Batamat pangantin" takes place in the morning.⁴⁰

Like the "Batamat kanakan" tradition, the "Batamat pangantin" also follows similar offerings and procedures. In larger gatherings, the event is attended by the surrounding community and invited guests, whereas in more modest settings, it may only involve the immediate family of the bride and groom. The attire for the occasion can vary from simple white robes to traditional "Batamat" clothing, or even bridal attire.

³⁸ Zhafa.

³⁹ Duhri, Sejarah Batamat Qur'an di Banjar.

⁴⁰ Duhri; Rulli, Batamat Qur'an di Martapura, August 27, 2021; Mita, Batamat Qur'an Pangantin, August 16, 2021.

During the "Batamat pangantin", the bride-to-be sits at the center of the gathering, often accompanied by her parents or a respected elder (tutuha). The proceedings follow the same order as the "Batamat kanakan". Additionally, someone is designated to hold a decorative flower umbrella (payung kambang) over the bride-to-be. This role is typically performed by younger, unmarried relatives, friends, or family members.⁴¹

In the *Batamat pangantin* tradition, the offerings typically include the obligatory *lakatan bahinti*, a variety of traditional cakes (up to 41 kinds), and fruits. The audience or invited guests gather to solemnly listen to the recitation performed by the bride and groom. Any errors in the recitation are promptly corrected by the attendees.

Following the recitation, the ceremony proceeds with the recitation of the "khatam al-Qur'an" prayer, along with additional prayers led by the bride's or groom's parents or a respected elder (tutuha) present at the event. As noted by Ulya and Mita, while they both experienced "*Batamat Qur'an* as children, they found the *Batamat pangantin* to be significantly more demanding and meaningful due to its importance in affirming the individual's readiness for marriage.⁴² In this ritual, it is not crucial whether the bride-to-be has previously completed the *Batamat*; she must still recite the Qur'an and demonstrate her proficiency to the public. In Banjar society, an individual's religious understanding and adherence are often evaluated based on their ability to recite the Qur'an and validate this ability during the *Batamat* event.⁴³ A person is considered prepared to embark on a new life through marriage when their recitation of the Qur'an is proficient and fluent. Conversely, if the recitation is still imperfect, the bride-to-be may become the subject of community gossip, as it is viewed as a sign of inadequacy.

The responsibilities and pressures associated with *Batamat pangantin* differ significantly from those of *Batamat kanakan*. While the latter focuses on demonstrating that children, students, or family members can read the Qur'an adequately—and if necessary, can continue to improve—*Batamat pangantin* carries the weight of proving one's readiness to build a household. Consequently, it is common for brides and grooms undergoing *Batamat pangantin* to prepare their recitation well in advance. They often engage in repeated practice (malancari) with a Qur'an teacher, and some even memorize the recitations. Although the recitation for the *Batamat pangantin* event typically includes only a selection of short surahs from Qs. al-Dhuha to Qs. al-Nas, the emphasis on perfection reflects the importance placed on this ritual.⁴⁴

Today, *Batamat pangantin* has gained prominence as an integral component of traditional Banjar wedding ceremonies, particularly in several districts of South Kalimantan, with Amuntai being a notable example. This growing interest is

⁴¹ Ulya, Batamat Urang Banjar di Kota Banjarmasin; Mita, Batamat Qur'an Pangantin.

⁴² Ulya, Batamat Urang Banjar di Kota Banjarmasin; Mita, Batamat Qur'an Pangantin.

⁴³ Ulya, Batamat Urang Banjar di Kota Banjarmasin; Mita, Batamat Qur'an Pangantin.

⁴⁴ Syafa, Batamat Qur'an ala Qari dan Pejabat, August 6, 2021.

reflected in the services offered by make-up artists and wedding organizers, who now include *Batamat pangantin* as part of their wedding packages. These professionals provide comprehensive services, including the preparation of the Batamat venue, complete with decorations, custom-designed Batamat attire that aligns with bridal wear, and the provision of all mandatory dishes typically featured in *Batamat* events.⁴⁵

However, this does not imply that *Batamat pangantin* is an obligatory ritual that must be performed before a wedding. Some interviewees mentioned that they married without holding this *Batamat Qur'an* event, citing various reasons. For instance, Hamra explained that she was unable to hold a *Batamat pangantin* because her wedding occurred on the night of Ramadan, immediately after Tarawih prayers. Given that she was fasting during the day, it was impractical to conduct the ceremony in the afternoon. Despite this, she remained diligent in attending *Batamat pangantin* events organized by her extended family and expressed regret over not being able to hold her own *Batamat*. She promised that her children would experience all the significant *Batamat* moments in the future.⁴⁶ In contrast to Hamra, Liza faced a different situation. When she got married, her extended family was located far from her, making it impossible to organize the *Batamat pangantin* celebration without their assistance.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, as Banjar people, they are aware of this *Batamat pangantin* tradition, but for some reason do not carry it out.

c. Batamat Maniga Hari (Khataman on the Three Days of the Deaths)

Batamat Maniga Hari is the concluding event in the tradition of graveside waiting, a practice wherein the Qur'an is recited in full, covering all 30 juz. This ritual typically involves a group of individuals hired by the heirs to perform the recitation. These Qur'an reciters spend the night at the grave, ensuring continuous recitation until the process is completed on the third day. On this day, the heirs, grave-waiters, and extended family members convene to perform the Batamat ceremony, marking the end of the graveside waiting period.

The primary intention behind *Batamat Maniga Hari* is to dedicate the merit of the three-day recitation to the deceased, offering it as a form of blessing for the departed soul. The event centers around the recitation of the Qur'an over the fresh grave, culminating in the Batamat ceremony as a final act to conclude the waiting period.

In Banjar belief, this tradition is significant because it is believed that a deceased person will not be questioned by angels as long as there are people engaged in waiting by the grave, underscoring the spiritual importance of this practice.⁴⁸ Thus, the tradition involves the living family requesting individuals to

⁴⁵ Mita, Batamat Qur'an Pangantin.

⁴⁶ Hamra, Batamat Qur'an di TPA.

⁴⁷ Liza, Batamat Qur'an di Istana Negara, July 31, 2021.

⁴⁸ Mita, Batamat Qur'an Pangantin; Duhri, Sejarah Batamat Qur'an di Banjar.

perform the graveside waiting ritual, which typically lasts for three days and includes continuous recitation of the Qur'an.

Those who are chosen for this role are often experienced individuals within the community. For instance, Rullah, who has been engaged in graveside waiting while reciting the Qur'an for over 20 years, exemplifies this tradition. Despite his primary occupation as a handyman, Rullah began this practice when his uncle, a regular reciter, invited him to take over due to the passing of his usual companions. Since 2004, Rullah has consistently participated in this role, even as his personal circumstances changed from being a bachelor to being married. While the frequency of his engagement varies—ranging from once every two to three months—recently, he has been called upon more frequently, sometimes several times within a month.⁴⁹ In addition, the graveside waiting is often performed by santri, typically male students from nearby Islamic boarding schools. These students are requested by the community to undertake the ritual of *Batamat Maniga Hari* at the grave, reciting the Qur'an as part of the tradition. Over the years, generations of santri from various Islamic boarding schools have continued this practice, fulfilling the community's needs for graveside recitation.⁵⁰

In practice, graveside waiting typically involves three individuals who carry out the recitation of the Qur'an until the Batamat ceremony. The system of sharing the recitation duties varies; often, each person is assigned to recite the Qur'an for a specific portion of the time during the three days. This system ensures that the recitation continues uninterrupted, as is customary in this tradition.⁵¹ There are also those who divide the Qur'an into three people to read it once, or they can finish each juz and then pass it on to the next person.⁵² During the three-day period of graveside waiting, the Qur'an is continuously recited by a team of three individuals, with a schedule arranged to ensure that recitation is maintained at all times. This includes coordinated intervals for eating, praying, relieving oneself, and sleeping. On the third day, the grave attendants notify the family of the deceased that the *Batamat Qur'an* ceremony is about to commence.

Family members and neighbors often attend the *Batamat*, bringing offerings such as lakatan, apam, and rice dishes. The ceremony begins with the recitation of Surahs al-Dhuha through al-Nas, followed by Surah al-Fatihah and tahlil. The event concludes with the khatam al-Qur'an prayer and the *doa arwah* (prayer for the deceased).⁵³

The Batamat dish prepared by the family of the deceased is served and shared among the attendees. Any leftovers are given to the grave attendants to take home.

⁴⁹ Rullah, Batamat Maniga Hari di Kubur, August 13, 2021.

⁵⁰ Duhri, Sejarah Batamat Qur'an di Banjar; Fikri, Batamat ala Huffazh.

⁵¹ Rullah, Batamat Maniga Hari di Kubur.

⁵² Duhri, Sejarah Batamat Qur'an di Banjar; Fikri, Batamat ala Huffazh.

⁵³ Rullah, Batamat Maniga Hari di Kubur; Duhri, Sejarah Batamat Qur'an di Banjar; Fikri, Batamat ala Huffazh.

Following this, a representative from the deceased's family presents a 'gift' typically money along with the deceased's used clothes—to the grave attendants. The term 'gift' is preferred over 'wage' or 'payment.' This gesture is valued by the attendants, often referred to as 'additional blood' (tambah darah), signifying an additional benefit or honor for their service.⁵⁴ If the family of the deceased is unable to attend the Batamat ceremony due to busy schedules, the grave attendants will conduct the Batamat on their own and return home after performing the prayers. The 'gift' is then sent to them later.

Economic considerations also impact the execution of graveside waiting traditions, as the family is expected to provide a substantial 'gift' to the attendants. To address this, another approach is to involve close family members in taking turns reciting the Qur'an at the grave. Children, grandchildren, in-laws, siblings, and others voluntarily rotate in reciting the Qur'an, ensuring continuous presence and recitation at the grave. When the time for Batamat arrives, the family will gather to conduct the Batamat rituals, including reciting the khatam prayer and the prayer for the deceased.⁵⁵

In a detailed discussion with Rullah, it was revealed that there exists a 'network of grave-waiters' in Banjarmasin. This network communicates through WhatsApp groups, allowing for swift dissemination of information when a death occurs and the family seeks individuals to wait by the grave. If a family does not request Quran recitation services, particularly if they are well-off or from a family of employees, it often becomes a topic of discussion within the group. This system helps coordinate and allocate tasks among the grave-waiters, ensuring that the tradition is upheld efficiently.⁵⁶

Mr. Rullah further explained that for deceased individuals who are wealthy, their families often request grave-waiting and Quran recitation to continue until significant milestones, such as the 100th day (manyaratus) and even up to a year (mahaul) after death. In such cases, the system involves creating three specialized groups that rotate every three days to ensure continuous recitation. On these occasions, the Batamat is typically performed by the individual grave-waiters themselves, with the khatam prayer recited privately. The formal Batamat ceremony, or 'manyalamat,' is then conducted on the final day of the recitation period.⁵⁷ Finally, the phenomenon of Batamat maniga hari di kubur is deeply rooted in Banjar culture. However, not all members of the Banjar community observe this tradition due to various factors, including economic constraints or differing interpretations and practices.

d. Batamat Tadarusan

⁵⁴ Duhri, Sejarah Batamat Qur'an di Banjar.

⁵⁵ Mita, Batamat Qur'an Pangantin.

⁵⁶ Rullah, Batamat Maniga Hari di Kubur.

⁵⁷ Rullah.

Batamat Tadarusan is typically observed during the fasting month of Ramadan in Banjar society. This tradition, common across many Muslim communities in Indonesia, involves the collective reading of the Qur'an, usually during Ramadan or on a weekly basis. In Banjar culture, *Tadarusan* refers to the practice of reciting the Qur'an during Ramadan, culminating in *Batamat Tadarusan* on the last day of Ramadan. This practice begins at the start of Ramadan, with participants reading one juz of the Qur'an each day until the entire text is completed.

In areas such as Barabai and Amuntai, *Tadarusan* is commonly held in langars or mosques. Men and youths from the village typically recite the Qur'an in turns after the tarawih prayer, completing one juz each day. Some langars even use loudspeakers to broadcast the recitation throughout the village. Women and girls often participate in *Tadarusan* sessions in the morning, usually between 07:00 and 09:00.

Batamat Tadarusan is usually conducted simply, without the elaborate clothing or ceremonial items found in other Batamat traditions. The required offerings, such as lakatan bahinti (wajik) and boiled eggs, are occasionally provided, but are not always present. Participants who have been involved in Tadarusan throughout the month gather for Batamat in the langar or mosque, and others are welcome to join if they wish.

The event typically begins without a formal opening. One person starts by reciting Surah al-Dhuha, and the recitation continues alternately until Surah al-Nas is completed. The procession and prayers follow the same format as other Batamat ceremonies, including the khatam Qur'an prayer and a congratulatory prayer. A local religious leader or ulama may lead these prayers. After the recitations and prayers, participants share a meal together, which is usually organized by volunteers who prepare rice or small cakes, and provide water or tea for everyone present.⁵⁸

According to Hudi's explanation, the *Batamat tadarusan* in the *langgar* located near his village is traditionally held after tarawih prayers on the eve of Eid each year. Participants are asked to remain at the *langgar* to attend the *Batamat tadarusan* event. *Lakatan* dishes are prepared in advance for this occasion. During the *Batamat*, participants collectively recite short surahs from Qs. al-Dhuha to Qs. al-Nas ('badarau'), rather than taking turns. Community members who are present also join in the recitation if they are able. However, due to the pandemic in the last two years, the *Batamat tadarusan* at Pak Hudi's local langgar has been restricted to those who have been consistently participating in tadarusan throughout Ramadan. For the meal, participants are usually taken to a stall by the langgar manager.⁵⁹

Consequently, Batamat tadarusan is the simplest variety of Batamat urang Banjar without a procession, yet it is very easy to find and routinely held every year. In

⁵⁸ Saputra, "Dialektika Islam dan Budaya Lokal dalam Tradisi Batamat al-Qur'an Urang Banjar," 22.

⁵⁹ Hudi, Batamat Qur'an di TPA; Hamra, Batamat Qur'an di TPA.

general, *Batamat tadarusan* can also be found in the traditions of other Islamic communities in Indonesia, as explained in the previous chapter, such as in Java.

e. Khataman Special Occasion

This final variant of Batamat is often intertwined with various traditions within the Banjar community, such as batajak (house building),⁶⁰ rituals to repel spirits, and practices aimed at ensuring that business ventures are blessed with prosperity (babarakah). *Khataman* for such specific purposes is typically performed by reciting the entire 30 Juz of the Qur'an, either in a single sitting or over a set period, akin to other *Batamat* traditions. In Banjar culture, these traditions often involve completing the recitation in one session within a designated timeframe. This practice can be akin to that of a Hafizh who completes a *khataman* for an exam, where the Qur'an is recited in its entirety by an individual,⁶¹ or employing the *muqaddaman* method, where a group of people each receives a specific Juz to read within that period.⁶²

A hafizh al-Qur'an, to prove the validity of his memorisation before getting permission to graduate from the pesantren, must read the Qur'an until khatam bi al-Hifzhi (without looking at the Qur'anic Mushaf) in one sitting, usually starting after Fajr prayer and ending at Maghrib. The Hafizh reads the Qur'an using a microphone, while other friends listen to the reading. Only later, when the Kyai felt that he had memorised the whole thing fluently, then the hafizh was asked to Batamat. The hafizh will read the Batamat reading until it is finished and closed with the prayer for khatam al-Qur'an. The Kyai and other students only listen to the hafizh's Batamat recitation. In this Batamat model, there are no attributes whatsoever. Just read the Qur'an until it is finished and then pray. However, the custom of the community if they know that there are hafizh who Batamat is to put drinking water in bottles or gallons in front of the hafizh, in order to get the barakah of the Qur'an. Based on Pak Fikri's narration, the gallons of water are usually arranged in large quantities, considering that the water must be sufficient as a deposit until another Batamat period is held.⁶³ Such is the variety of Batamat among Hafidh al-Qur'an for graduation and passing the sanad and shahadah.

In the Banjar diaspora community, the practices of muqaddaman and tamatan al-Qur'an are employed for various purposes, including the expulsion of spirits. These traditions are also utilized in significant events, such as state functions. For instance, during the Gus Dur administration, Banjar diaspora students from Qur'anic colleges in Jakarta were invited to recite the Qur'an at the State Palace. Each participant is assigned a specific juz of the Qur'an to recite. The recitation takes place in different locations within the room, with participants positioned at

⁶⁰ Ahmad Rafiq, The Reception of the Qur'an in Indonesia: A Case Study of the Place of the Qur'an in a Non-Arabic Speaking Community (Temple University, 2014).

⁶¹ Fikri, Batamat ala Huffazh.

⁶² Zaidin, Batamat Qur'an di Barabai.

⁶³ Fikri, Batamat ala Huffazh.

various corners to ensure that all areas are covered by the recitation of the Qur'an. After completing their respective juz, a khataman is held. This involves reading the prayer for khatam al-Qur'an to mark the conclusion of the recitation. Following the khataman, the host provides food and gives disangui (souvenirs), which typically includes blessings, food items, and some money as a token of appreciation. This practice reflects the integration of traditional Banjar customs into formal and prestigious events, showcasing the cultural significance and versatility of Qur'anic recitation in various contexts.⁶⁴

In contemporary Banjar society, particularly among the millennial generation, online media has become an alternative for conducting Qur'anic Batamat. The pandemic has necessitated a shift from traditional in-person gatherings to digital solutions. Platforms such as Zoom, Google Meet, and even WhatsApp Groups have been adopted to facilitate Batamat or khataman Qur'an.

For instance, when a parent or respected figure passes away, groups often organize a khataman. The recitation of the Qur'an is typically divided among participants, with each person assigned a specific juz. This information is disseminated through WhatsApp groups, where participants indicate completion of their assigned juz with a symbolic sign or an emoticon of the Kaaba. The event concludes with the recitation of the prayer for khatam al-Qur'an, which may be delivered via voice note or Telegram. An alternative approach involves virtual khatam via Zoom or Google Meet. In this format, the recitation from Qs. al-Dhuha to Qs. al-Nas is conducted live, with participants joining through a shared link. The event concludes with a representative reciting the prayer for khatam al-Qur'an.⁶⁵

3. The Development and Social, Economic, and Political Dynamics of the Banjar Community Batamat Tradition

As discussed, many traditions in Banjar society, such as batasmiyah, batumbang, and bahaul, are not merely community practices but are also integrated within Islamic traditions, thereby creating a unique Banjar Islamic tradition. This dynamic interplay is similarly reflected in the Batamat Qur'an tradition, which represents a synthesis of local Banjar culture and Islamic practice. The emergence and development of Batamat Qur'an, like other societal traditions, are deeply influenced by the social, political, and economic contexts of the Banjar community. This tradition exemplifies how local cultural practices can evolve and adapt within the framework of Islamic teachings, responding to the shifting dynamics of its environment.

a. Economics

The economic factors in Banjar society significantly influence the Batamat Qur'an tradition. As noted, the majority of Banjar people are engaged in farming and trading. For farmers, the timing of the Batamat Qur'an ceremony is often coordinated with their harvest periods. This scheduling

⁶⁴ Liza, Batamat Qur'an di Istana Negara.

⁶⁵ Hudi, Batamat Qur'an di TPA.

allows them to include produce from their fields, such as lakatan, a glutinous rice grown locally, as part of the ceremonial meal. Parents typically request that the Batamat Qur'an ceremony be held after the harvest to utilize their own agricultural produce for the event.

In addition to lakatan, other traditional treats like hinti gula habangmade from grated coconut and palm fruit commonly found in Banjar areasare also featured in the Batamat ceremony. These ingredients are usually sourced from local produce and livestock. For instance, eggs used in the Batamat, whether from chickens, ducks, or quails, are often obtained from the family's own poultry.

For families with lower economic means, the variety and quantity of dishes served at Batamat may be more modest, relying heavily on their own agricultural and livestock resources. Despite these limitations, parents strive to uphold the customs and provide a respectful and celebratory meal to honor the completion of Qur'anic memorization. This effort reflects their reverence for the Qur'an and their pride in their children's achievement.

In contrast, the economic landscape among the Banjar community has evolved, particularly in urban areas where formal employment, civil service, and trade are more prevalent. With the rapid economic improvement, the Batamat Qur'an tradition now often depends more on financial resources for the preparation and procurement of necessary items. Despite this shift, the community's respect for the Qur'an and pride in their children's accomplishment remains steadfast.

b. Social & Politics

Social, political, and economic factors have all played significant roles in shaping the Batamat Qur'an tradition within Banjar society. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Banjar community was introduced to the al-Banjari method of Qur'anic learning, developed by scholars and teachers in the region. This method was specifically designed to align with the cultural practices and daily lives of the Banjar people, as opposed to the previously dominant Baghdadi method. Batamat Qur'an became an integral component of this method, adhering to long-established community traditions.

According to Mr. Isa, one of the method's initiators, the Banjar Batamat approach was endorsed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of South Kalimantan Province in the 1990s. It was promoted at the Sabilal Muhtadin Grand Mosque and implemented under the auspices of the LPTQ (Lembaga Pengembangan Tilawatil Qur'an). In the early 2000s, the arrival of the Iqra' method and the expansion of TPA/TPQ (Taman Pendidikan Al-Qur'an) introduced healthy competition with the al-Banjari method, both methods alternately conducting Batamat and khataman events at the Grand Mosque. Over time, however, the distinction between Batamat processes of the al-Banjari method and khataman practices of the Iqra' method blurred, incorporating new rituals and practices, such as foot washing ceremonies in Barabai and prostration to parents in Banjarmasin.

The involvement of LPTQ and BKPRMI (Badan Kontak Majelis Ta'lim) has been complemented by the engagement of religious leaders and government authorities, adding a political dimension to the Batamat Qur'an tradition. Previously regarded as a mere community custom, Batamat Qur'an has now been formalized in several regional regulations (Perda) in South Kalimantan. For instance, Kabupaten Banjar, known as the Mekah of South Kalimantan, has enacted Local Regulation No. 4 of 2002, mandating that primary and junior high school students must complete Qur'anic recitation as a graduation requirement. This regulation, which emphasizes the eradication of Arabic illiteracy and Qur'anic literacy, requires students to report their recitation progress to supervising teachers and participate in a mass khataman event. Upon completion, students receive a khataman certificate.

Additionally, the Maghrib Mengaji Movement, a government initiative to promote Qur'anic recitation after Maghrib prayer, reflects efforts to integrate and enhance religious practices within the community. The Batamat Qur'an tradition remains a vital aspect of the Banjar community's identity, deeply embedded in their cultural practices and rites of passage. Its continuity and evolution are closely linked to the broader social, political, and economic dynamics of the Banjar society.

4. The Sustainability of the Batamat Quran Tradition in Banjar Society

As previously discussed, the Batamat tradition is a central element in the life and rituals of the Banjar community. Alfani Daud highlights that this tradition has been deeply rooted in Banjar society, especially among traditionalists. According to Daud, Islamic rituals are intricately woven into the daily lives of the Banjar people, who exhibit profound devotion to religious teachings. In this context, the Batamat Qur'an has become linked with significant life stages within the Banjar community.

The interaction between the Banjar community and the Qur'an extends beyond mere reading and memorization. Various stages of life within the Banjar community are marked by Qur'anic interactions, reflected in traditional ceremonies and daily practices. Daud argues that Islam is a defining characteristic of Banjar identity. As a result, the Qur'an has evolved from being a religious text to encompassing items such as wafak (amulets), specific recitations, and traditions embedded in daily life. For example, the Halarat prayer is recited in salamatan (a blessing) if a family member accidentally drops the Qur'an.

Despite its persistence, the Batamat Qur'an tradition has experienced significant changes and adaptations. The preservation of this tradition is a pressing concern within Banjar society, especially as new Qur'anic recitation models emerge. In this evolving landscape, the Batamat tradition often receives limited attention in khataman processes, including variations in attire and rituals performed before Qur'an readers.

The rise of online Qur'anic recitation models, particularly during the pandemic, has further marginalized the Batamat tradition. Virtual khataman sessions facilitated

by technology have led to the simplification or omission of traditional practices. The adaptation to online formats has necessitated a reduction in traditional elements due to technological limitations.

The future of the Batamat tradition depends on its transmission to future generations. The negotiation, adaptation, and preservation of this tradition rely on the engagement and understanding of younger members of the Banjar community. Despite its recognition by stakeholders, the tradition is often overlooked for various reasons.

One issue is the perception of the Batamat tradition as simplistic, leading some to regard it as less significant. Many younger Banjar individuals do not fully understand the symbols and meanings embedded in the tradition. As a result, the tradition has sometimes been simplified, replaced, or abandoned. The diversification of Qur'anic education methods, including the introduction of various teaching models, has led to a diminished emphasis on the Batamat tradition. The predominant focus on standardized khataman models reduces the perceived necessity of maintaining traditional Batamat practices.

Therefore, preserving the Batamat tradition requires immediate attention from all stakeholders involved in Qur'anic education within the Banjar community. While regional regulations in South Kalimantan address Qur'anic literacy, they do not specifically cover the preservation of the Batamat tradition. Given that every child is required to complete Qur'anic recitation by the end of primary school, there is an opportunity to uphold the Batamat tradition.

Moreover, Batamat practices extend beyond Qur'anic education, encompassing various traditions such as Batamat nikah, Batamat tiga hari, Batamat menyeratus, and Batamat tadarusan. Despite numerous changes and adaptations, these traditions continue to be observed, highlighting the ongoing hope for the preservation of the Batamat tradition.

CONCLUSION

Based on the preceding discussion, the following conclusions can be highlighted as significant findings of this research:

The analysis of the coded and classified interview data reveals that the Batamat Al-Qur'an tradition remains prevalent in Banjar society, particularly in the context of transitional rites such as Batamat kanakan, Batamat pangantin, and Batamat maniga hari. This practice represents a fusion of Islamic values with Banjar cultural identity. Similarly, traditions like Batamat tadarusan and Batamat for specific purposes, such as business blessings or ceremonial tests, are still observed, although they are less common in urban areas of the Banjar community.

The observed phenomenon indicates that the social, economic, and political dynamics of Banjar society are intricately connected with the various Batamat traditions. These traditions have undergone changes, adaptations, and negotiations concerning offerings, rituals, and their significance. A notable transformation from the

agrarian past of the Banjar community—where Islamic values were closely linked to nature and traditional practices—is evident. Traditionally, the Batamat Al-Qur'an was associated with life stages such as birth, marriage, and death. However, in contemporary Banjar society, Batamat Al-Qur'an predominantly serves as a marker for completing the recitation of the entire Qur'an. Despite the persistence of various Batamat traditions as cultural markers, their meanings have evolved from those held by previous generations. This shift has prompted government efforts to use regulatory measures to preserve the Batamat Al-Qur'an tradition.

In the context of the information technology era, the Batamat Al-Qur'an tradition continues to be practiced, though increasingly through digital means. For example, the practice of ODOJ (One Day One Juz), which relies heavily on messaging technologies such as WhatsApp and Telegram, has become prevalent. The ODOJ groups typically conduct online khataman Al-Qur'an, although this practice often overlooks traditional aspects due to logistical challenges. Despite its limited and infrequent occurrence, online Batamat Al-Qur'an is not entirely absent. The role of Qur'ānic literacy education remains crucial in maintaining and implementing the Batamat tradition. Should this educational component fail, there is a risk that this long-standing tradition may eventually fade from the community's cultural practices.

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