

BATAMAT: THE RECEPTION OF QUR'AN IN DAYAK BAKUMPAI

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to describe the shifts and changes in the reception model of the Qur'an among the Bakumpai Dayak tribe in Central Kalimantan in the tradition of khatam al-Qur'an (batamat). Batamat is carried out in several important moments, namely when completing Al-Qur'an lessons for children, at weddings, tadarrus at the end of Ramadan, and at death ceremonies. This research employed a qualitative descriptive study of the living Qur'an through fieldwork. The phenomenological approach was used, with Qur'an reception theory as a basis for analysis. The results of the study indicated that in Bakumpai Dayak community, Batamat has an aesthetic function and a performative function. Furthermore, there has been a shift in the performative function of the Al-Qur'an from initially being a pure guidebook and ritual, to indicating social status in society and promoting egalitarian values between men and women.

Keyword: Batamat, Dayak Bakumpai, Performative Function, Quran Reception.

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini bertujuan mendeskripsikan bentuk pergeseran dan

perubahan yang terjadi dalam model resepsi Al-Qur'an di kalangan suku Dayak Bakumpai di Kalimantan Tengah dalam tradisi khataman Al-Qur'an (batamat). Batamat dilaksanakan dalam beberapa momen penting, yaitu saat menyelesaikan pelajaran Al-Qur'an bagi anak-anak dan remaja, saat pernikahan, tadarus pada akhir bulan Ramadhan, serta saat kematian. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif living Qur'an dalam bentuk penelitian lapangan dengan metode kualitatif deskriptif. Pendekatan yang digunakan adalah pendekatan fenomenologis dengan menggunakan teori resepsi Al-Qur'an sebagai pijakan analisis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa dalam masyarakat Dayak Bakumpai, Batamat memiliki fungsi estetika dan fungsi performatif. Lebih jauh, terdapat adanya perubahan dalam fungsi performatif atas Al-Qur'an dari yang awalnya menjadi kitab petunjuk dan ritual murni, kemudian bergeser menjadi penunjuk status sosial dalam masyarakat dan promosi nilai egalitarian antara laki-laki dan perempuan.

Kata kunci: Batamat, Dayak Bakumpai, Fungsi performatif, Resepsi Al-Quran,

INTRODUCTION

As the Holy Book for Muslims, Quran has many functions including the main guidebook of Muslims' way of life. In the course of its history, Islam and the Qur'an have taken a crucial position amidst the cultural reality of society.¹ Apart from being the guidance in all aspects of life, humans bring up various expressions in their interaction with the Quran, as seen in the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an. The tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an is commonly practiced by various tribes in Indonesia mainly as a form of gratitude for a child who has been able to complete his Quranic recitation for the first time. This tradition is also practiced by the Banjarese, who live in the area of South Kalimantan. Alfani Daud noted several models in the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an by the Banjarese.² As a hybrid tribe born from the intermarriage of the ancestors of the Dayak and the Malay, the Banjarese mostly identified themselves as the Malay or "Urang

¹ Muhammad Barir, "Peradaban al-Qur'an dan Jaringan Ulama di Pesisir," *Suhuf* 8, no. 2 (11 November 2015): 371–90

² Alfani Daud, *Islam & Masyarakat Banjar: Deskripsi dan Analisa Kebudayaan Banjar* Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 1997. 248-252

Banjar” who are strongly related to Islam. Banjar culture is mainly derived from the ancestral acculturation between Hindu-Buddha and Islam.³ In this context, Ita Syamtasyiah Ahyat mentioned that the Banjarmasin Sultanate as the representative of the Banjarese was indeed the successor of the previous Hindu kingdoms, namely Negara Dipa and Negara Daha.⁴

Although *batamat* Qur'an tradition is widely practiced by the Banjarese in Central Kalimantan, it is notable that the Dayak Bakumpai also practices the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an for such a long time. Meanwhile, most of Dayaks are strongly related with ancestral religion (*kaharingan*) and mysticism. In this sense, Dayak Bakumpai is exceptional as it is strongly nuanced with Islamic traditions.

Dayak Bakumpai in Central Kalimantan has always practiced the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an not only for children who completed Qur'anic recitation for the first time, but also for marriage and funerals. Although *Khatm* al-Qur'an initially involved individual completion of Quranic recitation from juz 1 to juz 30, in some events, Dayak Bakumpai practiced the *Khatm* al-Qur'an by inviting 30 people to recite 1 juz each, therefore they recite 30 juz collectively. In other events, people performed *khatm* al-Quran by only reciting Q.S. An-Nās to ad-Duhā. These practices indicate that the *Khatm* al-Qur'an has shifted from something sacred into a mere “ceremonial” for certain events in Dayak Bakumpai society.

This article describes various models of the *khatm* Qur'an or simply known as *batamat* as the tradition of Dayak Bakumpai community living in Central Kalimantan. There have been previous studies related to this topic, including studies by Mukarromah and Supriadi Torro,⁵ and Wirdanengsih⁶ who found

³ Norpikriadi, *Sejarah Etnisitas dan Budaya Banjar*. Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2015.,34.

⁴ Ita Syamtasyiah Ahyat, Perkembangan Islam di Kesultanan Banjarmasin, *Jurnal Lektar Keagamaan* 10, no. 2 (2012): 233–248.

⁵ Mukarromah dan Supriadi Torro, “Dampak Sayyong Pattu'Du terhadap Motivasi Anak Menamatkan Al-Qur'an di Desa Lombong Kecamatan Malunda Kabupaten Majene,” *Jurnal Sosialisasi Pendidikan Sosiologi-FIS UNM* 6, no. 3 (2019): 78–83, doi:10.26858/sosialisasi.v0i0.13361.

that *khatmul* Qur'an by reciting the whole Quran from the beginning to the end was mainly carried out for children who had completed Qur'anic reading. Meanwhile, Nur Arifa,⁷ Sadiani,⁸ Endah Supriyani⁹ and Rapiq Hairiri¹⁰ highlighted the form of the *Khatam* Al-Qur'an tradition for brides during the wedding procession. On the other hand, Miftahul Jannah¹¹ addressed the communal tradition of Quranic recitation from juz 1 to juz 30 on the grave yard as a way to send prayers for the deceased.

Khatm al-Qur'an in Indonesia is more than a mere tradition, but sometimes has turned into a performative function. Syaripudin¹² conducted research on the provision of wage in the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an through the perspective of Islamic Economics. Similarly, Fauzi¹³ also carried out research to reveal

⁶ Wirdanengsih Wirdanengsih, "Enkulturasikan Nilai-nilai Budaya dalam Keluarga pada Perhelatan Mandoa Khatam al-Qur'an di Masyarakat Balai Gurah, Sumatera Barat," *INSANCITA: Journal of Islamic Studies in Indonesia and Southeast Asia* 2, no. 1 (2017): 53–62, doi:10.2121/incita-jisisea.v2i1.814.

⁷ Arifa Nur, "Tradisi Malam Khataman Pengantin Perempuan Suku Melayu Tamiang (Analisis Tindakan Sosial Max Weber)," *MUKADDIMAH: Jurnal Studi Islam* 5, no. 1 (2020). p.

⁸ Sadiani Sadiani, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam terhadap Nilai Sakralitas Budaya Mappanre Temme dalam Perkawinan Adat Bugis Bone," *Al-Bayyinah* 2, no. 2 (2018): 101–16, doi:10.35673/al-bayyinah.v2i2.53.

⁹ Endah Supriyani, "Tradisi Khatam Al Qur'an pada Pernikahan Suku Bugis di Palembang (Studi Kasus di 3 Ilir Palembang)," *Doctoral dissertation, UIN RADEN FATAH PALEMBANG*, 2018, <http://perpustakaan.ac.id>.

¹⁰ Rafiq Hariri, "Tradisi Khataman Al Qur'an Pasangan Pengantin pada Acara Pernikahan di Desa Teluk Tigo Kecamatan Cermin Nan Gedang Kabupaten Sarolangun Propinsi Jambi (Kajian Studi Living Al Qur'an)," *SELL Journal*, 2020, <http://repository.uinjambi.ac.id/5423/>.

¹¹ Miftahul Jannah, "Living Hadis dalam Tradisi Menjaga kubur Masyarakat Banjar Kabupaten Hulu Sungai Tengah Kalimantan Selatan," *ESENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 15, no. 1 (2014): 41–57, doi:10.14421/esensia.v15i1.763.

¹² Enceng Iip Syaripudin, "Perspektif Ekonomi Islam Tentang Upah Khataman Al-Qur'an," *Jurnal Naratas* 1, no. 2 (2018): 1–8, www.jurnal.stai-musaddadiyah.ac.id.

¹³ Ahmad Nailul Fauzi, "Komodifikasi Agama Terhadap Pembacaan (Khataman) Al Qur'an Air Kemasan Kh-Q Pt. Buya Barokah," *Diya Al-Afkar: Jurnal Studi al-Quran dan al-Hadis* 7, no. 02 (2019): 281, doi:10.24235/

the religious commodification in water, which has been recited with Qur'anic reading, as a marketing strategy to boost sales and for promotion.

The tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an has been practiced by many tribes in Indonesian archipelago, making people accustomed to its presence. It is no wonder that despite the severe outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic that caused temporary closure of communal activities, the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an remained in practice. During the pandemic time, there was a notable shift in the format of *Khatm* al-Qur'an. Ellyda Retpitarsari and Naila Muna¹⁴ reported a transformed format of *Khatm* al-Qur'an from face-to-face to online format via the WhatsApp group. This finding was echoed by a study by May Salwa and Agus Mahfudz Fauzi¹⁵ who reported *khatam* al-Quran by Fatayat NU in Sarirejo area. Apart from that, research conducted by Agus Subhan Akbar¹⁶ also highlighted the tradition of Online-Based *Khatm* al-Qur'an through Instant Messaging Services, whereas Moh Hasan Fauzi¹⁷ explored the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an via WhatsApp.

While the previous studies discussed about the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an in public space, Alvita Eka Rahmah and Adrika Fithrotul Aini,¹⁸ Ainun Hakiemah and Jazilus Sakhok,¹⁹ Elly

diyaafkar.v7i02.5802.

¹⁴ Ellyda Retpitarsari dan Naila Muna, "Tradition Changes in the Khataman al-Qur'an in Kediri Region," *Proceedings of International Conference on Da'wa and Communication* 3, no. 1 (2021): 189–98, doi:10.15642/icondac.v3i1.463.

¹⁵ May Salwa Billah Safirah dan Agus Machfud Fauzi, *Transformation of Khataman Al-Qur'an in The Pandemic Time of Covid-19*, *Al-Mada: Jurnal Agama, Sosial, dan Budaya*, vol. 4 (AL-MADA: Jurnal Agama dan Sosial Budaya, 2021), doi:10.31538/almada.v4i2.1327.

¹⁶ Agus Subhan Akbar, "Khataman Qur'an Berjamaah Secara Online Berbasis Instant Messaging Server," *NJCA (Nusantara Journal of Computers and Its Applications)* 2, no. 1 (2018), doi:10.36564/njca.v2i2.32.

¹⁷ Moh Hasan Fauzi, "Tradisi Khataman Al-Qur'an Via Whatsapp Studi Kasus Anak-Cucu Mbah Ibrahim al-Ghazali Ponorogo Jawa Timur," in *Dialogia*, vol. 17, 2019, 121, doi:10.21154/dialogia.v17i1.1658.

¹⁸ Alvita Eka Rahmah Adrika Fithrotul, *Pemaknaan Jamaah terhadap Khataman Al-Qur'an dalam Shalat Tarawih; Studi Living Qur'an di Pondok Pesantren Tahfidzul Qur'an Klinterejo-Mojokerto*, *Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Tafsir*,

Magfiroh,²⁰ addressed the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an in pesantren. Other studies also describe the practice of *Khatm* al-Qur'an tradition by people in certain regions. For example, Riza Saputra,²¹ Alfani Daud²² and Ahmad Rafiq²³ have elaborated the Banjarese tradition in interacting with the Qur'an, including the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an or locally known as *batamat*. Similarly, Fathurrosyid et. al.²⁴ also elucidated the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an by the Madurese community, while Agustang K.,²⁵ Septi Marlisa,²⁶ Ridwan et. al.,²⁷ as well as Nurul Musyafa'ah and Aya Mamlu'ah²⁸ also reported the practice of

vol. 6 (MAGHZA: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Tafsir, 2021), doi:10.24090/maghza.v6i2.4575.

¹⁹ Ainun Hakiemah dan Jazilus Sakhok, "Khataman Alquran di Pesantren Sunan Pandanaran Yogyakarta: Kajian Living Hadis," in *Mutawatir*, vol. 9, 2020, 125–44, doi:10.15642/mutawatir.2019.9.1.125-144.

²⁰ Elly Maghfiroh, "Living Qur'an: Khataman Sebagai Upaya Santri Dalam Melestarikan Al-Qur'an," *Hermeneutik* 11, no. 1 (2019): 109, doi:10.21043/hermeneutik.v11i1.4503.

²¹ 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. Vol 3, No 1 (2021): Mashdar: Jurnal Studi Al-Qur'an dan Hadis (2021): 1–32, doi:https://doi.org/10.15548/mashdar.v3i1.2771.

²² Daud, *op. cit.*

²³ 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'e," *Dissertation, Philadepia, Temple University*, 2014.

²⁴ Fathurrosyid Fathurrosyid, Abdul Hakim, dan Moh. Muhyan Nafis, "Tradisi Hataman Qur'an di Madura: Resiliensi dan Agensi Nalar Moderasi Islam," *SUHUF* 15, no. 1 (October 11th 2022): 147–74, doi:10.22548/shf.v15i1.713.

²⁵ Agustang K, "Tradisi Khatam Qur'an sebagai Upaya Perwujudan Pendidikan KarakterIslami di Kota Ternate Maluku Utara," *Foramadiahi: Jurnal Kajian Pendidikan dan Keislaman* 11, no. 1 (2019): 34, doi:10.46339/foramadiahi.v11i1.146.

²⁶ Septi Marlisa Ruffran Zulkarnain, "Informal Learning System Pada Kegiatan Khataman Al-Quran di Mushola Bengkulu," *Journal of Lifelong Learning Informal* 5, no. June (2022): 1, doi:10.33369/joll.5.1.71-80.

²⁷ Ridwan et al., "Pelaksanaan Khataman Al-Qur'an (Tradisi Sosial Keagamaan Pada Masyarakat Melayu Kota Pontianak)," *al-Afkar, Journal For Islamic Studies*, October 21st 2022, 142–58, doi:10.31943/afkarjournal.v5i4.365.

²⁸ Nurul Musyafa'ah dan Aya Mamlu'ah, "Analisis Semiotika Charles

the *Khatm* al-Qur'an tradition in many areas, such as Maluku, Bengkulu, Pontianak and Bojonegoro. Among previous studies discussing on tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an, little study has been conducted on the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an in the Dayak community, especially Dayak Bakumpai. Meanwhile, this tradition has been constantly practiced and been part of Muslims in Central Kalimantan. There was a study by Almuzahidin et al.,²⁹ Kusuma³⁰ and Abu Bakar³¹ which discussed Islamic culture in the Central Kalimantan, but their description only covered the general aspect of the culture without specifically addressing the *Khatm* al-Qur'an. On this basis, this article aims to explore the growing tradition of *batamat* al-Qur'an in the Muslim community of Central Kalimantan, particularly the Dayak.

This field work study can be classified as a study on the Living Qur'an conducted in North Barito Regency, Central Kalimantan. It was conducted for eight months from January to August 2021. This qualitative research employed an analytical descriptive method. The collected data consist of the primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained from the actors of *khatm* al-Qur'an (*batamat*), religious leaders, teachers reciting the Qur'an, who were related and served as the main informants in the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an in Central Kalimantan, especially North Barito Regency. The primary data were obtained by observation, documentation, and in-depth interviews. Observational data in this study were collected from the authors' participation in the six (6) *batamat* sessions for both children and

Sanders Pierce Terhadap Kerukunan Sosial dalam Budaya Makan Setelah Khataman Al-Qur'an Pada Kelompok Tahfidz Di Bojonegoro," *Jurnal Mu'allim* 4, no. 1 (2022): 1–20, doi:10.35891/muallim.v4i1.2899.

²⁹ Almuzahidin, *Kebudayaan Islam Kalimantan Tengah* (Yogyakarta: K-Media, 2018).

³⁰ Kusuma Kusuma, "Motivasi Masyarakat Palangka Raya Dalam Pelaksanaan Tradisi Menunggu Kuburan Dalam Tinjauan Hukum Islam," *Jurnal Studi Agama dan Masyarakat* 11, no. 2 (2017): 174, doi:10.23971/jsam.v11i2.436.

³¹ Abu Bakar HM dan Iqbal, *Dinamika Kebudayaan Suku Dayak Bakumpai di Kalimantan Tengah (Studi Tentang Akulturasi Budaya Lokal dan Agama Islam)*, *Radenfatah Repository* (Prosiding; Islam and Humanities (Islam and Malay Local Wisdom, 2017).

adolescents' completion of Qur'an reading, the *batamat* for the wedding ceremony, *batamat* at the end of Ramadhan, and *batamat* for a funeral. Other data on the *Khatm* al-Qur'an in the Indonesian archipelago were in the form of literature study or other related information were treated as secondary data.

This study used phenomenological approach by applying the Reception Theory of the Qur'an as the basis for the analysis. In this theory, Ahmad Rafiq mentioned three models of interaction and reception (acceptance and actualization) of the Qur'an in the life of Muslims. This research was conducted in Muara Teweh, as one of the regencies in Central Kalimantan inhabited by the largest population of Dayak Bakumpai. The first is reception in terms of *comprehension and interpretation* (exegetical function). The second is *aesthetic reception*, while the third is a *functional reception*.³² Exegetical reception or interpretive reception refers to the activity of Muslim community in receiving and reading the Quranic texts through interpretation of the meanings of the Quran. Aesthetic reception describes the reception of the Quran through art and cultural actualization. Meanwhile, functional reception serves as a form of public response and acceptance of the Qur'an by functioning the texts and their meanings as a different form as compared to the original meaning in the Qur'anic texts, generally for the readers with specific purposes.³³

Theoretically, this research is expected to contribute into the development Quranic studies interconnected with other concepts and approaches such as gender, economics, ethnography, and sociology. Practically, it is expected that the results of this study could provide important output for the regional and central government to preserve local Islamic cultural arts as the hallmark of Islam Nusantara, especially in Central Kalimantan.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Dayak Bakumpai Muslims

³² 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', p. 146.

³³ Rafiq, p. 144.

One of the distinctive tribes in Central Kalimantan that is interesting to study is the Dayak Bakumpai.³⁴ As one of the sub-tribes of Dayak Ngaju, the Bakumpai inhabits the Barito, Kapuas, Marabahan, Tumbang Samba and Longiran rivers in East Kalimantan.³⁵

In general, Dayak tribe is divided into seven major groups, namely the Dayak Ngaju, Dayak Apu, Dayak Kayan, Dayak Iban and Heban or Sea Dayak, Dayak Klemantan or Land Dayak, Dayak Murut, Dayak Punan, and Dayak Ot Danum. Of the top seven are the Dayak Ngaju, which can further be divided into 4 major tribes, namely Ngaju, Ma'anyan, Lawangan, and Dusun. Bakumpai iwas included as part of the Dayak Ngaju. Bakumpai is also part of the Dayak Ot Danum, which consists of 68 smaller tribes, including the Bakumpai as part of Dayak Ngaju, Kapuas, Kahayan, Katingan, and Sampit.³⁶

History notes that the original religious system or belief of the Central Kalimantan Dayak tribe is the Helu or Kaharingan religion.³⁷ Even so, almost all members of Dayak Bakumpai, a sub-tribe of the Dayak Ngaju, adhered to Islam. This religious belief system greatly influenced other aspects, including culture, social and other aspects. Nonetheless, some particular rituals of their original beliefs such as Badewa, Balian and Manyanggar Lebu were still well preserved and practiced at particular moments.

³⁴ Tjilik Riwt Sanaman Mantikei, "Maneser Panatau Tatu Hiang". Yogyakarta: Pusaka Lima, 2003, 61-81.

³⁵ Tjilik Riwt stated that the Bakumpai is a sub-tribe of the Dayak Ngaju who speak the Bakumpai language with the main residency around the Barito river, Marabahan area, and a small part in Tumbang Samba and Longiran, East Kalimantan. Tjilik Riwt and Sanaman Mantikei, *Maneser Panatau Tatu Hiang*, 65-66.

³⁶ Tjilik Riwt and Sanaman Mantikei, *Maneser Panatau Tatu Hiang*, 57-81.

³⁷ *Kaharingan* is derived from the word *haring* which means life. The word Life itself is associated with *ranying hatala*, namely God the only One Creator . Tjilik Riwt and Sanaman Mantikei, *Maneser Panatau Tatu Hiang*, 478-479.

The fact that most of the Dayak Bakumpai population are “Dayak Muslims” had led to some problems. Some members of the Bakumpai community groups who have embraced Islam no longer identified themselves as Dayaks, since they were more likely to be part of the Malay or Banjar. According to Riwayat, since the colonial era, it has become a custom for the Dayak Muslims to officially declare themselves as Malays, while hiding their ethnic origin despite the fact that their heart and minds are still strongly rooted as the Dayak. Dayak people who embraced Islam preferred identifying themselves as the Banjar, instead of “Dayak Muslims” or “Islamic Dayaks”. Out of this widely held custom, the Bakumpai people seemed to try to preserve both identities (the Dayak and Muslim) together, as they believe that a bird can only fly when a pair of its wings are flapped.³⁸

According to Setia Budhi,³⁹ Islamic practice of the Bakumpai did not necessarily uproot them from their genealogical ethnic roots. Bakumpai Islam, was a matter of the rationality of a clan towards what was seen as logical and rational, which ultimately defeated the previously held rationality and logic. The conversion of the Bakumpai to Islam did not make them abandon their previous religious practices, although it must be admitted that the Bakumpai has almost deserted its ancestral traditions, except for the healing ceremonies locally known as *Badewa* and *Balian* in Bakumpai’s. The Bakumpai remained to consider themselves as the Dayak who were incapable of uprooting themselves from their ancestral roots, and thus they maintained brotherhood ties with other Dayaks despite embracing different religions. This fact was well portrayed in the local

³⁸ Nasrullah, “Identitas Orang Bakumpai: Dayak dan Muslim,” (*PROYEKSI Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora PROYEKSI Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora (e-Journal)*) 19, no. 2 (2015), doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.26418%2Fproyeksi.v19i02.461461>.

³⁹ Budhi Setia, “Bakumpai People, Religion and Identity a Regional Autonomy Study of Communal Identity in South Kalimantan,” *JDR: International Journal of Development Research* 07, no. 01 (2017), <https://www.journalijdr.com/bakumpai-people-religion-and-identity-regional-autonomy-study-communal-identity-south-kalimantan>.

expression of the Bakumpai community “*ini datu itah te sama beh awen biaju kia*” [Our ancestors are also the Biaju/Dayak].⁴⁰

Khairil Anwar and his colleagues revealed that the entry of Islam into the regions surrounding the Barito River as the main base of the Bakumpai community, was inseparable from the role of Muslim traders from Banjarmasin (Oloh Masih), Marabahan and Nagara. In addition, Khairil Anwar also articulated that the process of Islamization in the Barito region was also more or less influenced by religious leaders or clerics both from the descendants of Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (such as Sheikh Abdussamad Bakumpai), and from his students who work as marriage celebrants, traders, farmers and etc.⁴¹

Yusliani Noor in her work *Islamisasi Banjarmasin* (Islamization of Banjarmasin) stated that the Dayak Bakumpai people were genealogically the Dayak Ngaju people who gradually converted to Islam, then formed a separate colony in the Marabahan area in an area called Bakumpai. Noor,⁴² also believed that the process of Islamization of the Dayak Bakumpai people coincided with the Banjarese who accepted Islam from Java. Hence, the identity and Islamization process among the Bakumpai people were not adopted from the Banjarese, but were resulted from direct interaction and reception of the Bakumpai people with the spreaders of Islam from Java.⁴³

⁴⁰ Nasrullah, “Identitas Orang Bakumpai: Dayak dan Muslim,” (*PROYEKSI Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora PROYEKSI Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora (e-Journal)*) 19, no. 2 (2015), doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.26418%2Fproyeksi.v19i02.461461>.

⁴¹ Khairil Anwar, *Kedatangan Islam di Bumi Tambun Bungai* (Banjarmasin: COMDES Kalimantan, 2005), 66-69.

⁴² Yusliani Noor, “The Mobility of Bakumpai Ethnic Along Barito River in the Perspective of Trade and Spread of Islam (From 15th to 19th Century),” *1st International Conference on Social Sciences Education (ICSSE) 2017. Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Social Sciences Education, Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Social Sciences Education - “Multicultural Transformat*, 2017, <https://translate.google.com/website?sl=en&tl=id&hl=id&prev=search&u=https://dx.doi.org/10.2991/icsse-17.2018.78>.

⁴³ Yusliani Noor, *Islamisasi Banjarmasin (Abad ke-15 sampai abad ke-19)* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2016).

This opinion certainly refutes many assumptions that have so far casted doubt on the Dayakness (Dayak identity) of the Bakumpai people as one of the Dayak sub-tribes. In this line, Tjilik Riwut highlighted that the Bakumpai is a sub-tribe of the Dayak Ngaju. Although some parties rejected Bakumpai as a sub-tribe of the Dayak Ngaju, there was no debate about the original ethnicity of the Bakumpai. In fact, Bakumpai swas till part of the Dayak although they were predominantly Muslims, and had most of their rituals and culture resembling the Banjarese Muslims. The Dayak identity of the Bakumpai was still obvious from the aspects of language, culture and social systems that shared common ground with other Dayak tribes in Central and South Kalimantan. The differences of opinion regarding the arrival of Islam to Barito may be attributed to a geographical landscape of the coastal area of the Barito River as the Dayak Bakumpai resident, which was closely connected with the Alalak region and its surroundings that were strongly dominated by the Banjar culture. No wonder that such regional proximity has led to a strong crossover and fusion between the two cultures and customs.

The abovementioned descriptions have positioned Muslim-predominated Dayak Bakumpai in a unique and interesting socio-cultural and theological structure. This distinctive position was apparent from acculturative and synthetic religious and cultural practices. In fact, even though the majority of Dayak Bakumpai adhered to Islam, their belief system remained syncretistic with local traditions.

Tradition of *Khatm al-Qur'an* by Dayak Bakumpai

Observations and interviews suggested that there are five models of the tradition of *Khatm al-Qur'an* (*batamat*) practiced by Dayak Bakumpai. They are: *batamat* Qur'an for children and adolescents, *batamat* during the month of Ramadan, *batamat* for wedding ceremonies, *batamat* for funerals, and *batamat* for *tahlilan* to remember the deceased family members.

1. *Batamat* for children and adolescents

In general, *batamat* (the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an) for children or adolescents who have completed the Quran reading up to juz 30 is still preserved among the Dayak Bakumpai community in North Barito. Before the birth of TKA/TPA al-Qur'an (informal religious school for learning Quran) in the early 1990s, the procession of *batamat* al-Qur'an was usually carried out independently and individually at home with the help of parents. However, since the flourishing presence of TPA/TPQ using the Iqra method in the North Barito region, the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an was often carried out collectively before the graduation ceremony for students.

Today, the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an (*batamat*) is carried out at the TPA collectively under the coordination of the committee, which usually consists of teachers and TPA administrators. On the other hand, the individual implementation of *batamat* is carried out by the parents or relatives of a child who complete Quranic recitation, commonly led by the child's Qur'anic teacher. During the research observation, five people were known to carry out the *batamat* individually in their respective homes, namely Muhammad (14), Melda (9), Suryadi (12), Selpa (15) and Selpi (15).

The *batamat* for Suryadi (12), Selpa (15) and Selpi (15) was held on Friday, July 30th 2021 after Friday prayer. This religious ritual was attended by their Qur'anic teacher, religious leaders, the community members, neighbors, relatives and friends of the child. *Batamat* was opened with an *atar-atar* (ritual delivery by reciting the surah al-Fatihah) led by a local religious figure. Afterwards, the *batamat* procession was continued with recitation of short surahs alternately from surah adh-Dhuha to an-Nas. After the recitation was complete, all those present read together the invocation of khatamil Qur'an which read "*watammāt Kalimatu rabbika shidqan wa 'adlan, lā mubaddila likalimātihi wahuwas samī' al alīm*". Then the *batamat* was closed with a prayer led by a religious figure. Once the prayer was recited, the ritual was continued with a salvation prayer *halarat kifarat* known as the typical

tradition of the Dayak Bakumpai community, especially during *batamat*. The prayer served as expression of gratitude (*salamat*) offered to Allah SWT (*halarat*), as well as a way to ask for forgiveness to erase all sins (*kifarat*) or mistakes made during the process of learning the Qur'an and misbehaviour against the teacher of the Qur'an.



Source: Rukayah (2021)

Figure 1.

Documentation of *Batamat* for Suryadi (12), Selpa (15) and Selpi (15) in Montallat Village, Montallat Subdistrict, North Barito Regency

In another event, a *batamat* procession was performed for Adlissalam (14) and Melda (9), started by the recitation of sura al-Dhuhā to sura al-Nās. The two of them recited the sura alternately under the guidance of a teacher who was also their father, Hamsyi (41 years). Occasionally, when the recitation was inaccurate, the teacher would correct the reading.



Source: Adharul Hamsi (2021)

Figure 2.

Documentation of *Batamat* at the house of Adlissalam (14) and Melda (9) in Muara Teweh, North Barito

Some items which were usually present for *batamat* procession include boiled duck eggs, round sticky rice (*meyak rice*) with the addition of grated sweet coconut (*core*) on top. Besides various foods, some decorations were displayed in front of the child who held the *batamat*, including some colorful flags (yellow and pink), flower decorations, bank notes, fresh flowers and *pinduduk* (a circular container filled with rice, coconut, eggs, brown sugar and bananas arranged in such a way as to form a small mountain). This *pinduduk* was commonly handed over to the Quran teacher as a form of gratitude to the teacher for her endeavour in educating their children until they complete the recitation of the Quran.

In addition to the merry decoration, the child who performed *batamat*, Adlissalam (14) and Melda (9) were dressed in white. Other children, Suryadi (12), Selpa (15) and Selpi (15) wore pilgrimage (hajj) customs. The boys wore a white robe with turban accessory, while the girls were dressed in a robe covered with an outer made of knitted fabric in the form of outer. The head was decorated with *bolang*⁴⁴ and *mispa*.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ A special type of knitted hat, usually with a floral pattern worn by women who have just arrived from Mecca for performing the pilgrimage.

⁴⁵ The cloth wrapped around the outside of the *bolang*, usually in the

2. *Batamat* for Brides and Grooms

The *batamat* tradition was also common for the prospective brides in the Bakumpai community. This tradition is generally carried out by the bride few days before the wedding ceremony. However, in recent years, a notable shift was seen in this tradition as *batamat* is not only performed by the bride, but also by the bride and groom altogether, as did Nur (30), Zulia (25) and Aulia (27). They carried out the *batamat* together with the groom. The *batamat* procession of Nur was held in August 2020 and Zulia on Friday, 12 February 2021 were led by Hj. Norhana (46).

Batamat procession generally began with recitation of QS. adh-Duha to QS. an-Nas, led by the Quranic teacher of the bride. At the event, the *halarat salam* and *kifarat* (*balaku ampun akan dosa-dosa itah/asking for forgiveness of all my sins*) were also recited. One of the essential dishes for the *batamat* procession is egg *salawat*, where the boiled eggs were pierced by the bride and groom while reciting *asyraqal salawat*. Apart from this dish, the ritual also used jasmine flowers, sticky rice (*meyak rice*), and 41 kinds of traditional cakes.

As revealed by Hj. Musdiah (56), the mother of Nur and Zulia, and Hetty Karmilasari, the mother of Aulia one of the purposes to perform the *khatm* al-Qur'an procession was to obtain the blessings of the Qur'an so that the family will be granted with religious and pious offspring. The *khatm* al-Qur'an procession also aimed to enable the bride and groom to start their new life from the noble thing, namely the Quran as a guide for life.⁴⁶

form of transparent brukat or tile cloth with floral patterns.

⁴⁶ Interview with Mrs. Hetty Karmila Sari with Aulia Azizah (child) and daughter-in-law and mother Hj. Musdiah in the city of Muara Teweh, Wednesday 13 October 2021.



Source: Ilham (2021)

Figure 3.

The *Batamat* Documentation for Bride and Groom in Muara Teweh, North Barito



Source: Ilham (2021)

Figure 4.

The *Batamat* Documentation for Azizah in Muara Teweh, North Barito

Meanwhile, the presence of various culinary offerings, including the 41 kinds of traditional cakes, sticky rice (*rice menyak*), and eggs symbolized hopes that the bride and groom will live a harmonious and intimate love life (just like the sticky rice) and be abundantly blessed with fortune (as the traditional cakes) and enlightened by blessings (as the

eggs). The display of various flower ornaments, hanging banknotes, various cakes and flowers served more as decorations to enliven the *khatm* al-Qur'an. The compulsory items to prepare for the procession were sticky rice (*menyak rice*), eggs and *pinduduk*.



Source: Ilham (2021)

Figure 5.

Batamat documentation of the bride Nur Zulia and her husband in Muara Teweh, North Barito



Source: Ilham (2020)

Figure 6.

Batamat Documentation of the Bride Nur Muhairiah and her groom in Muara Teweh, North Barito

3. *Batamat* to signify the end of the month of Ramadan

The ritual of *Khatm* al-Qur'an (*batamat*) is frequently held at the end of the month of Ramadan in various mosques and *mushallas* in North Barito Regency, including in Muara Teweh. The interviews with several Dayak Bakumpai community leaders in Muara Teweh City revealed that *batamat* is usually held on the last night of the month of Ramadan during the last night of Tarawih prayer. Some people, however, performed the tradition the night before the last night of Ramadan.⁴⁷

The *batamat* procession of this type was usually performed by children aged between 9-12 years. They sat in rows, started the *khatm* al-Qur'an procession alternately guided by several religious leaders at the venue. The *khatm* al-Qur'an recitation began with QS. aḍ-Ḍuḥā' recitation and ended with the QS. an-Nās. Once the recitation was finished, the *khatm* al-Qur'an was ended with a *khatm* prayer led by a religious figure. Before the event began, various items for *khatm* al-Qur'an were made available, such as sticky rice (*meyak rice*) topped with fried grated sweet coconut flesh, and boiled duck eggs placed in large plastic trays to be distributed to the congregation.

⁴⁷Interview with Mr. Suratman (religious figure in Lanjas Village/Formal Management of al-Arafah Mosque, Jalan Langsat), Ridjalani Arius, Ahyaal Mujahadin (chairman of the Management of Ghairu Jami' Nurul Hidayah Mosque, Jalan Akasia Muara Teweh) and Karyadi (Pangulu/Marriage Celebrant at Jambu Village, administrator of Daruttaqwa Mosque, Jambu Village, Teweh Baru District, North Barito).



Source: Akhmad Supriadi (2021)

Figure 7.

Documentation of *Batamat Tadarus* at the End of the Month of Ramadan at the Ghairu Jami' Nurul Hidayah Muara Teweh Mosque

4. *Batamat* for the funerals

One of the rituals of the *Khatm al-Qur'an* (*batamat*) performed by the Dayak Bakumpai community of North Barito for the deceased families is *batamat* in the grave yard. H. Mulyadi (54), an *ustadz*/religious figure in the Lanjas Village and H. Karyadi (52), *Pangulu*/ religious leader in the Jambu Subdistrict revealed that this tradition is still ongoing today among the people of North Barito, including by the Dayak Bakumpai.

According to H. Karyadi, who was locally known with the nickname of "Pangulu" (marriage celebrant), his family held *khatm al-Qur'an* for the passing of his relative who passed away in the month of Ramadan 1442 H/May 2021, according to the will of the deceased. The child of the deceased, carried out the will by performing three processions of *khatm al-Qur'an* at the grave in one week, assisted by relatives and certain invited people. The Qur'an was recited on the grave by standing up (*muqaddam*). Using this method, each attendee recited the Qur'an in accordance with predetermined juz. The Qur'anic recitation was intended to

the late H. Harun. In the past, those who recited the Qur'an were relatives who had died, but currently, according to H. Karyadi, many have been handed over to certain parties (such as ustadz or students) to recite the Qur'an for 30 Juz with a certain agreed wage (*ujrah*).



Source: Nor faridatunnisa (2021)

Figure 8.
Documentation of *Batamat* over the Grave

In line with H. Karyadi, H. Mulyadi (45), one of the religious leaders in the Lanjas Muara Teweh Village, was often asked by the family of a deceased person to recite the Qur'an from beginning until the end, at least three times in three days at the grave of the deceased. He and several of his students recited the Qur'an by way of *muqaddam* (standing up) for the deceased. On the third day, the deceased's family was invited to attend the grave to witness and participate together with the *khatm* event. As a reward, the invitees were provided with a wage (*ujrah*) by the deceased's family. There were no previous talks about the wages, but this practice is based on sincerity and the prevailing habits among the surrounding community.

The existence of this wage (*ujrah*) marks a shifting model in the *batamat* tradition for the deceased on the grave, since other community traditions, such as the Banjarese, only

involve close families in reciting the Qur'an and perform *khatm* al-Qur'an without any special payment or wages.

5. *Batamat* at *Manyaratus* remembrance

Manyaratus is a commemoration of 100 days after the death of a person, which is generally held by the family of the deceased. This tradition aims to pray for the deceased so that they will be forgiven for their sins during their lifetime and given protection from various torments in the grave. For this reason, the *batamat* of this type concerns mainly with recitation of surah Yasin, *tahlil* and prayers and recitations of other surahs in the Qur'an.

Overall, the *batamat manyaratus* in North Barito is generally carried out in two (2) ways. Some people carry it out at night before 100 days of death, but some people carry it out simultaneously with the *tahlilan* procession in the morning. The *batamat* is generally separated from the *tahlilan* procession so as not to disturb the *tahlilan* ritual which is usually carried out for a long duration.



Source: Akhmad Rayani, 2021

Figure 9.

The *batamat manyaratus* documentation

Based on information from the family of the deceased, (Mr. Ahmad Rayani and Mrs. Rohmaniar), the *khatm* al-Qur'an procession served as the culmination of the recitation

of the Qur'an by people who have just lost their family members whose reward was intended for the deceased. The *batamat* ritual along with 100 days tahlilan procession was carried out more simply. It was seen on the absence of decorations, such as flowers, umbrellas, and *pinduduk* for *batamat* as in wedding procession. In *batamat manyaratus*, the only dish served to the guests is nasinyak (glutinous rice).

***Batamat* in the Dayak Bakumpai: Community Reception of the Quran**

The above description of *batamat* tradition among the Dayak Bakumpai community suggest the prominent practice of this ritual among the society members. It can be said that this tradition-colored various stages in the human life cycle, such as childhood, marriage, death and after death. The presence of *batamat* in various important stages in human life denotes the essential position of the Qur'an in the Dayak Bakumpai community, which accompanied the journey of human life. This is in line with the function of the Qur'an as a guide for Muslim life.

In terms of the Quranic recitation, all types of *batamat* generally recite Surah ad-Dhuha to surah An-Nas. This trend applies to those who have actually completed recitation of the Qur'an from juz 1 to juz 30. In this case, it could be said that the recitation of these short surahs seems to symbolize the mandatory surahs to be recited in *batamat*. This reality showcased a considerable change in the performative function of the Qur'an from a guiding holy book to a social tradition. This is not a problem if seen through the perspective of the Living Qur'an. Instead, the tradition should be deemed as cultural richness that needs to be preserved, since the perspective of the living Qur'an considers traditions as a way for humans to perceive the Qur'an.

The *batamat* tradition of Dayak Bakumpai community involves various essential items as inseparable part of the procession constituting diverse meanings and objectives. All the five types of *khatm* al-Qur'an require *meyak* rice, *pinduduk*, boiled eggs, colorful flags (yellow and pink), umbrella-like decorative flowers, bank notes and fresh flowers. In addition, the person

holding the *batamat* procession (children, or bride and groom) were usually dressed in honorable clothes for the *batamat* procession.

Besides the decorative display and costume, the aesthetic reception of the *batamat* al-Qur'an procession of the Bakumpai people was also apparent from the way they recited the Quranic verses, commonly with *tarteel/murattal* style (reciting the Quran in a slowed mannered pace), which can be deemed as having an aesthetic value. The merry decorations or ornaments to beautify the room or stage during the procession also added to the aesthetic value of the *batamat* procession and motivated the people who attended the procession to do the same. The common items for *batamat* procession were having aesthetic meaning, as follows.

Table 1.
Analysis of Aesthetic Meaning in the Items
for *Khatm* al-Qur'an

No.	Items	Aesthetic Meaning
1	Al-Qur'an	A brand-new Al-Qur'an is used during the procession, which indicates beauty and purity (a new start)
2	Umbrella-shaped Decorative Flowers	Decorative flowers of various colors are arranged in umbrella shape with different layers. Each of these umbrella-shaped decorative flower contains hanging paper money with nominal starting from Rp1000, Rp2000, Rp5000 to Rp10000. This decoration signifies protection and prosperity
3	Adorable Attire	The person holding the <i>batamat</i> procession (the bride the groom and the children) are generally dressed in adorable attire. The bride generally wears long robes overlaid with blazers/cardigans and outer garments made of transparent luxurious sheer fabric and embroidered with colorful flashes of sequined brocade (<i>mispa</i>). The attire symbolizes beauty, glory and honor.
4	<i>Pinduduk</i>	<i>Pinduduk</i> may take the form of objects such as prayer items, including prayer mats, <i>mukena</i> , Al-Qur'an, but sometimes <i>pinduduk</i> may also take the form of foodstuffs consisting of rice, one chicken egg, one brown sugar, one grated coconut, one

No.	Items	Aesthetic Meaning
		grain, as well as a handful of bananas arranged in a container like a small basin. <i>Pinduduk</i> is arranged as such that it indicates festivity
5	Colorful flags	This decoration aims to give a festive and cheerful impression
6	Glutinous Rice	The rice is shaped like a mountain in a cup/bowl with a boiled egg on top arranged beside grated coconut mixed with brown sugar (<i>hinti</i>). The rice symbolizes closeness or harmony.
7	Boiled Eggs	The boiled eggs are arranged in a cup/bowl and can also be decorated or made as stick eggs that hangs paper money that serves as flags or colorful paper around a pile of boiled eggs.

Besides aesthetical meaning, the items in the *khatm* al-Qur'an (*batamat*) procession also symbolize the functional meanings listed in the following table:

Table 2.
 Analysis of Functional Meaning in Batamat Items

No	Items	Functional Meanings
1	<i>Pinduduk</i>	<i>Pinduduk</i> represents homage and appreciation to the Quranic teacher for her guidance in learning the recitation of the Qur'an from the beginning to its end.
2	Pilgrimage Attire	The pilgrimage attire is worn to indicate the hope and motivation of the parents and the bride and groom to go on a pilgrimage.
3	Glutinous Rice	The sticky rice symbolizes the expectation that the lessons learned will stick to the person just like the sticky rice. In addition, its sweet taste and the coconut flesh represent the expectation that the life of the bride and groom after marriage will constantly be blessed.
4	Boiled Eggs	This boiled egg aims to enlighten the heart as mentioned in the Quran in surah Al Insyirah: <i>alam nasyrah laka sadrak</i> , which means relieving the heart. In addition, it can also be a prayer that enlightens the heart for those who have yet to complete the Qur'anic recitation.

From this explanation, it can be concluded the five models of the tradition of *Khatm* al-Qur'an among the Dayak Bakumpai

community in North Barito Regency can be generally classified into two types of reception of the Qur'an as seen from the procession, namely: aesthetic reception and functional reception. Aesthetic reception refers to the comprehension, acceptance, and actualization of artistic and cultural values in the *khatm* al-Qur'an (*batamat*) among the Dayak Bakumpai community, which is predominant in the *batamat* ritual for children and the bride and groom. The aesthetic reception was reflected in the decorations of the rituals, such as: the umbrella with banknotes, fresh flowers, shaped rice, colorful flags and so on. The aesthetic reception is commonly found in the *batamat* ritual for the children's Qur'an reading completion and *batamat* for marriages. Some children wear white clothes, while some others wear pilgrimage attire as the Indonesian pilgrims who went home after visiting the holy land. Aesthetic value is also obvious in the decoration of umbrellas, flowers and the serving of sticky rice and eggs which are shaped and arranged in such an aesthetic way. Likewise, the aesthetic aspect for the *batamat* ritual for the bride and groom is also predominant as seen from the decoration with merry selection of colors and type of attire (pink, purple, gray). In addition to these decorations, the procession also displays jasmine flower decorations, tree decorations hanging with fruit from boiled duck eggs, umbrella decorations wrapped in flowers and banknotes showing aesthetic value as well as a functional response to show the social class of the bride and groom.

Similarly, the aesthetic aspect in the *batamat tadarus* at the end of Ramadan is also less prominent than the *batamat* for children and the bride and groom. The aesthetic aspect is only seen from the recitation style of *tarteel* of the children who recite the Qur'an, besides the presence of aesthetic arrangement of sticky rice and eggs during the procession.

Meanwhile, the aesthetic reception in *batamat* rituals at cemeteries and *batamat manyaratus*, is less prominent. Instead, in this context, the functional reception predominates because the recitation of the Qur'an from juz 1 to juz 30 functions as a gift from the mourning family to the deceased for his comfort and spaciousness in the grave. This is attributed to the belief of the Bakumpai people that the Qur'an enlightens the grave of the

deceased that protects them for any torture in the afterlife and grants them with favors from Allah.

On the other hand, the functional reception was seen in the *batamat* at the end of Ramadhan, *batamat manyaratus* (conducted after one hundred days of someone's death along with *tah-lilan*), and *batamat* at the grave. *Batamat* for children who were completing the Quran recitation (*anakuluhan*) serves as a form of gratitude for his achievement in improving the recitation of the Qur'an up to chapter 30. The functional reception can also be seen from the handover of *pinduduk* from the student to the teacher as a form of gratitude and appreciation to the teacher. The provision of *pinduduk* also symbolizes a very strong teacher-student relation.

Meanwhile, in terms of the functional reception, the *batamat* at end of Ramadan contains religious and social values, as a way to hope for blessings and rewards in the month of Ramadan. The social value is mainly denoted by the food served at procession, which serves as alms or a gift for the present audience to be eaten together after the *batamat* and a form of celebration at the last day of tarawih prayers.

By comparing the present *batamat* for brides to the *batamat* procession for brides in the past, it is clear that there have been some considerable changes, especially in terms of groom involvement, indicating a shift in gender perspective. At present, according to the research observation, the three *batamat* processions for Bakumpai wedding couples in Muara Teweh Barito Utara were not only carried out by the bride, but also by the groom who attended the procession. In the past, the *batamat* was conducted to prepare the bride or the wife for religious readiness, which was symbolized through the ability of the bride to recite the Qur'an at the *khatm* al-Qur'an or *batamat* procession. Nowadays, the bride and groom are required to attend the *batamat* procession jointly. This shift indicates the sense of gender equality between husband and wife to be since both are required to acquire religious knowledge before, they start marriage life.

Looking at the *tadarus* and *khatm* al-Qur'an traditions in the past, there have been some changes in the *batamat* tradition

at the end of Ramadan of the Dayak Bakumpai community, especially in terms of the one performing *tadarus*. In the past, male predominated the *tadarus*. Nowadays, as this research found, many *batamat* at the end of Ramadan are performed by children or by a combination of children and adolescents. However, there are no considerable changes in terms of the male dominance in *tadarus* and in the tradition of *Khatm al-Qur'an*. There are only few women or girls and who are specifically involved in *tadarus* and *batamat* procession.

Table 3.
Analysis of changes in implementation/actors
of *khatm al-Qur'an (Batamat)*

No.	Types of <i>Batamat</i>	Actors of <i>Batamat</i>
1	<i>Batamat</i> for Children and Adolescents	It is no longer conducted in private homes, but many have been carried out in groups or masses, such as in mosques/TPQ
2	<i>Batamat</i> for the Brides	In the past it was only done by the bride/ prospective bride, but now <i>batamat</i> involves both the bride and groom altogether in the same place and time. Today, <i>batamat</i> ritual also signifies social status.
3	<i>Batamat</i> for the Deceased in the grave yard.	Previously, the reading of the <i>tadarus/muqaddam</i> was only done by the deceased's family, but now <i>batamat</i> involves almost everyone with a wage system (<i>ujrah</i>).
4	<i>Batamat</i> after 100 days of the decease along with <i>Tahlilan</i> .	In the past, this type of <i>batamat</i> was only done by the close family of the deceased, but now it has been assigned to certain people with the provision of wage (<i>ujrah</i>) to recite the Quran from juz 1-30 at the 100 days of death along with <i>tahlilan</i> .
5	<i>Batamat Tadarus</i> in the month of Ramadhan	Nowadays, it is very common for children and adolescents to perform <i>batamat</i> , unlike the previous <i>batamat tadarus</i> which was only dominated by the older adults.

From this description, it was obvious that the findings of this research indicated that there were changes in the performative function in the *batamat* rituals of Dayak Bakumpai despite

some religious elements that remain the same. *Batamat* is different from common traditions of *Khatm al-Qur'an* in Indonesia. *Batamat* included aesthetic aspects, such as decoration, food, and the attire. The shift in the aesthetic reception of *batamat* for wedding ceremony also indicates the class and social status of the bride and groom's family.

Batamat has also experienced a shift in the performative function of the gender perspective, since the procession not only involves the bride but also the groom altogether. In addition, a performative shift can also be seen in the *batamat* for the deceased, where the recitation of al-Qur'an for 30 Juz is now assigned to external parties with a wage system (*ujrah*).

CONCLUSION

The tradition of *Khatm al-Qur'an* or "*batamat*" among Dayak Bakumpai community is still widely practiced today amid the common view that Dayak tribe is closely related to mysticism. There were five occasions that *batamat* was conducted, such as: first *khatam* (completion of Quran reading), marriage, the end of Ramadan, funeral and death remembrance. Analysed from the theory of Qur'an Reception, *batamat* served as having both aesthetical and functional receptions. Aesthetically, *batamat* was conducted with some ornaments and decorations, as shown in the completion of Quran reading for children and marriage. Functionally, *batamat* symbolized social status (as in *batamat* for marriage rituals and after-death *tahlil*), gender equality (as in *batamat* for pre-marriage ceremony). The practice of *batamat* in this study indicated a shift in viewing Qur'anic recitation, which used to be mainly life guidance for Muslims, to be a symbol for social status and gender equality. In other words, Quranic recitation as in *batamat* tradition for Dayak Bakumpai community was transformed from private worship to social events.

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