Qirā'āt Sab'ah in Tahajud Prayer: A Bourdieusian Analysis of Religious Practice

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Abstract

*This study examines **how** the tradition of reciting the Qur'an using the seven canonical readings (Qira'at Sab'ah) during tahajud prayer at Pondok Pesantren Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung, Kediri, represents an example of the Living Qur'an that is, the Qur'an as a text that is not only read, but lived and practiced in everyday life. While most studies on Qira'at Sab'ah tend to focus on technical aspects of recitation or its historical development, relatively little attention has been given to how this tradition is implemented and sustained within the institutional life of Islamic boarding schools (pesantren). This research employs a **qualitative approach**, utilizing direct observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis as primary methods of data collection. The analysis is framed through Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of habitus (internalized dispositions), capital (resources such as knowledge and social support), and field (social arena). The **findings** indicate that the practice of reciting Qira'at Sab'ah during tahajud prayer gradually forms a natural and embodied habitus among the students (santri). From Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical perspective, this study finds that the tradition of Khatam Qirā'āt Sab'ah in Tahajud prayer is socially constructed and continuously reproduced through the dialectical interplay of habitus, capital, and field within the pesantren, thereby reinforcing the Living Qur'an paradigm and demonstrating that Qirā'āt practices function not merely as devotional acts but as institutionalized and legitimized socio-religious practices. This research **contributes** to the mobilization of religious and intellectual capital possessed by teachers, such as Ustadz Faiq Faizin, to strengthen and legitimize this tradition within the social sphere of the pesantren. This practice not only enhances the students' memorization of the Qur'an, but also deepens their appreciation and understanding of the diversity of Qur'anic recitations.*

Keywords: Qira'at Sab'ah; *Living Qur'an;* Tahajud; *Hamalatul Qur'an; Habitus Theory.*

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Introduction

The Qur'an was revealed by Allah to the Prophet Muhammad through a *tawqīf–tanzīl* process by means of the Angel Jibril, encompassing various modes of recitation (Qirā'āt) [1]. This diversity not only demonstrates linguistic beauty but also enriches the understanding of the teachings contained in the Qur'an [2]. The early dynamics of accepting plural recitations are reflected, among other events, in the incident in which ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb rejected the differing recitation performed by Hishām ibn Ḥakīm. The incident in which ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb rejected the recitation performed by Hishām ibn Ḥakīm, which was later confirmed and legitimized by the Prophet, demonstrates that the plurality of Qur'anic recitations had already received normative legitimacy during the Prophetic era. Theoretically, this event serves as a foundational basis that the diversity of Qirā'āt is not a deviation, but rather an integral part of the authentic transmission of revelation. Thus, within theological and historical frameworks, plural recitations possess a strong and well-established legitimacy. However, a gap exists between this normative-theoretical legitimacy and contemporary practical realities. In many modern Islamic educational contexts, including numerous pesantren, the teaching and ritual practice of the Qur'an often focus primarily on a single canonical recitation, while the broader diversity of Qirā'āt receives limited practical implementation. Moreover, academic studies tend to emphasize the historical and philological dimensions of Qirā'āt rather than examining how this plurality is lived, institutionalized, and actualized within concrete socio-religious settings. This GAP constitutes the central concern of this research. Although plural Qirā'āt have been normatively legitimized since the time of the Prophet, their structured implementation and internalization within contemporary religious practices remain relatively underexplored. Therefore, this study seeks to bridge the divide between normative-theoretical legitimacy and socio-practical actualization of Qirā'āt within pesantren religious traditions [3].

The study and development of the science of Qirā'āt in Indonesia began to receive broader attention in the 2000s, [4] in line with the increasing involvement of ʿulamāʾ and academics in integrating the discipline of Qirā'āt into formal academic institutions. One notable milestone was the convening of a congress on Qirā'āt studies initiated by UINSA in 2025. During this event, Dr. Iffah Muzammil proposed the establishment of a new academic program (Prodi Ilmu Qirā'āt) as a strategic step for advancing Qirā'āt studies in Islamic higher education [5]. Historically, the codification and pedagogy of Qirā'āt in Indonesia can be identified through the intellectual contributions of KH. M. Arwani Amin of Kudus, particularly through his work *Fayḍ al-Barakāt*. The method and

systematic framework formulated in this work became the foundation for the transmission of sanad with his teacher, KHR. M. Munawwir of Krapyak [6].

After first emerging in informal discussions among lecturers within the Qur'anic Studies and Tafsir Program at UIN Sunan Kalijaga, the term *Living Qur'an* has since been widely used in Indonesian academic circles. Living Qur'an can be understood as "the Qur'an that lives" or "bringing the Qur'an to life within society," [7] while M. Quraish Shihab refers to it as "grounding the Qur'an" [8]. Living Qur'an is categorized as a field closely related to sociology and anthropology, because as a discipline it must be based on events that genuinely occur and can be experienced as social realities [9].

PP. Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung Kediri is one of the pesantren that implements the teaching and actualization of Qirā'āt within its Tahajud prayer activities. The researcher takes as an illustration one of the routine activities conducted at PP. Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung that supports the *tahfīẓ* program in the memorization deposit process using Qirā'ah Sab'ah, which is typically completed within an average of two years. The Tahajud prayer is performed in congregation, recited aloud (*bi al-jahr*), and all students are required to participate by attentively listening to the imam's recitation.

The analysis of the tradition of completing (*khatam*) Qirā'āt Sab'ah in the Tahajud prayer at Pondok Pesantren Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung Kediri is conducted by employing Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus, particularly through the dialectic between habitus, capital, and field [10]. Theoretically, this practice is not merely an isolated ritual activity but a social practice that emerges from the deeply internalized habitus of the students, shaped through repetitive patterns and the pesantren's strict disciplinary system. In this context, the pesantren functions as an authoritative field that provides space for the contestation and accumulation of cultural capital in the form of mastery over complex Qirā'āt. A closer look at the students' involvement in this tradition reveals a form of "practical sense" that has become embodied, in which the ability to recite various Qirā'āt in the solemnity of night prayer is no longer experienced as a cognitive burden but rather as a natural disposition. Furthermore, mastery of Qirā'āt Sab'ah transforms into cultural capital that provides religious legitimacy and intellectual prestige within both the pesantren's social structure and the broader community.

Based on this background, several research questions are formulated in this study: (1) How is the practice of Qirā'āt Sab'ah manifested in the Tahajud activities at Pondok Pesantren Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung Kediri? (2) How is the tradition of completing Qirā'āt Sab'ah in Tahajud prayer produced and reproduced as a social practice through the dialectic of habitus, capital, and field within Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework?

Scholarly engagement with the discourse on *Living Qur'an* and the Science of Qirā'āt can be thematically mapped into several major tendencies, each offering important contributions while leaving certain analytical gaps. First, within the theme of institutional harmonization of ritual traditions, the study by Moh Lutfi, Cholid Ma'arif, and Abdul Ro'uf entitled *Harmonization of the Takhtim al-Qur'an Tradition in Tahajud Prayer: A Living Qur'an Study at Pondok Pesantren Hamalatul Qur'an* emphasizes the integration of the takhtim tradition into Tahajud prayer as an institutional commitment to spiritual cultivation and communal cohesion. The study successfully highlights the cultural and spiritual atmosphere fostered within the pesantren. However, from a critical perspective, it does not thoroughly explore how the practice functions as a site for the reproduction of Qirā'āt-based religious authority or as a mechanism for the distribution of symbolic capital within the pesantren's social structure [11]. Second, an evaluative-pedagogical approach is reflected in Shofhatul Maulidiyah Hasanah's master's thesis, *Responsive Evaluation of the Tahfidz Qur'an Program from the Perspective of Islamic Education: A Study at Pondok Pesantren Hamalatul Qur'an Putri Kediri*. This research focuses on the effectiveness of the tahfidz program and its contribution to character formation and religious competence. While it provides valuable insights into Islamic educational management and structured memorization programs, it does not explicitly address how ritual practices shape religious habitus or how they operate within the broader social field of the pesantren [12]. Third, from the perspective of sociology of knowledge, Elly Maghfiroh's study *Living Qur'an: Khataman as Students' Effort to Preserve the Qur'an* interprets khataman as a socio-religious activity representing the collective preservation of Qur'anic tradition. This approach enriches the discourse by foregrounding communal reception and meaning-making processes. Nevertheless, it does not extend its analysis to the dynamics of power relations, sanad legitimacy, or symbolic hierarchies that may structure such practices [13]. Fourth, in the context of adapting classical Qirā'āt scholarship to contemporary realities, Roni Susanto and colleagues, in *The Implications of Developing the Book Faiḍ al-Barakāt for Learning Qira'at Sab'ah in the Digital Era*, demonstrate how Qirā'āt learning can be transformed through digital pedagogical media. Their findings underscore the flexibility and adaptability of classical scholarship. However, the study does not analyze Qirā'āt practice as a structured ritual process that shapes religious habitus or reinforces authority within a specific social field [14]. Meanwhile, Joseph S. Agbengenya, Ieda M. Santos, and Caludin Habak, in *Creating Collaborative Learning Spaces for Children: How Can Bourdieu's Concepts of Habitus, Capital, and Field Help Us Understand Their Voices?*, provide a Bourdieusian analytical framework that explains how habitus, capital, and field structure educational experiences. Although not situated within Qur'anic studies, this framework offers a powerful theoretical lens for examining

religious practices as social arenas characterized by the accumulation and distribution of symbolic capital and the reproduction of authority [15].

Against this backdrop, the present research, "Qirā'āt Sab'ah in Tahajud Prayer: A Bourdieusian Analysis of Religious Practice Living Qur'an Study at Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung Islamic Boarding School, Kediri, East Java," occupies an integrative and analytical position. Rather than merely describing Qirā'āt Sab'ah practice as a Living Qur'an phenomenon, it examines the tradition through a Bourdieusian lens as: a process of forming religious habitus through repeated ritual performance, a site for the accumulation and distribution of religious and symbolic capital, particularly through sanad legitimacy, and a social field in which religious authority is reproduced and maintained. In doing so, this study bridges the gap between descriptive Living Qur'an scholarship and pedagogical studies, offering a structural analysis of Qirā'āt practice as a mechanism for sustaining religious knowledge, authority, and collective identity within the pesantren context [16].

Accordingly, this study aims to: (1) analyze the practice of Qirā'āt Sab'ah in the Tahajud activities at Pondok Pesantren Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung Kediri; (2) Explain how the tradition of completing Qirā'āt Sab'ah in Tahajud prayer is produced and reproduced as a social practice through the dialectic of habitus, capital, and field within Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework.

Method

This study employs a qualitative approach with a field research design. The qualitative method is chosen because the research seeks to understand the meaning, processes, and socio-religious dynamics embedded in the Tradition of Completing (Khatam) Qirā'āt Sab'ah in the Tahajud prayer as a Living Qur'an phenomenon. Rather than focusing on quantitative measurement, the study emphasizes in-depth exploration of meanings, religious experiences, and the social constructions underlying the practice. Accordingly, the researcher is directly present at the research site to observe the phenomenon in its natural setting [17].

Theoretically, this study integrates the Living Qur'an approach with Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, particularly the concepts of habitus, capital, and field. The Living Qur'an perspective is employed to examine how the Qur'an functions not only as a normative text but also as a lived and embodied practice within the daily life of the pesantren community. Meanwhile, Bourdieu's framework is utilized to analyze how this tradition is formed, reproduced, and legitimized through the interaction between social structures and the agents involved in it.

The sources of data in this research consist of primary and secondary data. Primary data are obtained directly from individuals who are actively involved in

the tradition, including the pesantren caretaker (pengasuh), administrators, asatidz (teachers), and students. These informants are selected because they possess direct experience in implementing and maintaining the Tradition of Khatam Qirā'āt Sab'ah. Secondary data are derived from supporting documents such as institutional archives, records of religious activities, photographic documentation, and relevant scholarly literature on Qirā'āt Sab'ah, Living Qur'an studies, and Bourdieu's theoretical framework. The types of data collected include verbal data (interview results), behavioral data (observations of ritual practices), and documentary data [18].

Data collection is conducted through three main techniques: observation, interviews, and documentation. Observation is carried out directly and participatively to gain a comprehensive understanding of the implementation of the Tahajud prayer and the recitation of Qirā'āt Sab'ah, including the interaction between teachers and students as well as patterns of discipline that emerge. Semi-structured interviews are conducted to allow flexibility in exploring in-depth information while maintaining alignment with the research focus. These interviews aim to uncover the historical background of the tradition, its implementation process, and the religious experiences of the participants. Documentation is used to complement and strengthen the data obtained from observation and interviews, serving as supporting evidence in the analytical process.

Data analysis is conducted continuously and systematically from the beginning of the data collection process. The first stage involves data reduction, which includes selecting, focusing, and categorizing the data according to key themes such as the origins of the tradition, the process of social reproduction, and forms of symbolic legitimation. The second stage consists of data presentation in the form of a systematic descriptive-analytical narrative, enabling clear identification of relationships among findings. The third stage involves verification and conclusion drawing, in which the data are interpreted using Bourdieu's theoretical framework to understand the formation of religious habitus, the distribution of symbolic capital, and the dynamics of the pesantren's social field. This analytical process is cyclical, meaning that provisional conclusions are continuously examined and refined until coherent and credible findings are achieved.

To ensure the validity and credibility of the data, this study applies triangulation procedures, including source triangulation and technique triangulation. Source triangulation is conducted by comparing information obtained from the caretaker, teachers, and students. Technique triangulation is carried out by cross-checking data derived from observation, interviews, and documentation. In addition, member checking is implemented by confirming preliminary findings with the informants to ensure the accuracy of

interpretation. Prolonged engagement and persistent observation in the field further strengthen the trustworthiness of the research [19].

Systematically, the research process begins with determining the focus of the study and constructing the theoretical framework, followed by field data collection through observation, interviews, and documentation. The collected data are then reduced, categorized, and analyzed using the sociology of practice perspective. The analytical results are verified through triangulation and member checking before being formulated into conclusions that explain the origins, development, and socio-religious significance of the Tradition of Khatam Qirā'āt Sab'ah in the Tahajud prayer as a Living Qur'an phenomenon. Through this systematic flow, the research process is presented in a transparent and academically rigorous manner [20].

Result and Discussion

Knowing the Jogoroto-Style Habituation at Pondok Pesantren Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung Kediri

Islamic Boarding School (Pondok Pesantren) of Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung is a female Islamic boarding school that implements an accelerated *tahfīẓ* (Qur'anic memorization) program through a habituation model similar to that applied at Islamic Boarding School (Pondok Pesantren) of Hamalatul Qur'an Jogoroto. [21] Located in Ringinagung hamlet, Keling village, Kepung district, Kediri regency, it was established in 2018 as part of the Hamalatul Qur'an Putri network, which operates in five locations: (1) Hamalatul Qur'an Putri Jogoroto Jombang; (2) Hamalatul Qur'an Putri Ringinagung Kediri; (3) Hamalatul Qur'an Putri Dawrah Tasmi' Kediri; (4) Hamalatul Qur'an Putri Kampung Inggris Kediri; and (5) Hamalatul Qur'an Putri Asy-Syahadah Surabaya.

The implementation of habituation is embodied in various activities designed as *riyāḍah* (spiritual discipline) for students in memorizing the Qur'an. These activities include: performing Tahajud prayer with the recitation of ½ juz, followed by *riyāḍah lisān* (oral exercise) of ¼ juz; Duha prayer with ½ juz; *muroqabah* (intensive review) of 5 juz; and additional *muroqabah* of 1 juz during Ẓuhr and ʿAṣr. Students carry out their *tahfīẓ* (memorization) in between these activities, with three daily submission sessions (*setoran*): in the morning after the 5-juz *muroqabah*, in the afternoon after the ʿAṣr *muroqabah*, and at night after the mandatory study session. This tradition of extensive Qur'anic recitation becomes the students' primary capital in completing their memorization with an average duration of four months at Pondok Pesantren Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung.

Within the philosophy of Hamalatul Qur'an, three fundamental principles are articulated [22]: Jogoroto, Jogorogo, and Jogoroso. Jogoroto refers to reciting the Qur'an comprehensively and continuously across all 30 juz, without selecting

or privileging any particular portion. Jogorogo means maintaining physical well-being in order to participate fully in all institutional activities. For this reason, the pesantren enforces regulations prohibiting physical sports that might disrupt the ongoing programs. Jogoroso emphasizes preserving the proper "sense" of Qur'anic recitation in accordance with the rules of *faṣāḥah* (eloquence) and *tajwīd*.

Islamic Boarding School (Pondok Pesantren) of Hamalatul Qur'an follows the *murottal* standard of Mahmud Khalil Al-Husary, a renowned Egyptian *qāriʾ*, whose recitations are frequently played before Tahajud, Ẓuhr, and ʿAṣr prayers as a model of *tartīl* (measured recitation). His work *Aḥkām al-Qirāʾāt al-Qurʾān al-Karīm* is also used as a reference and guide for Qur'anic recitation studies. The recitation of the Qur'an is regarded as an act of worship that requires the presence of a teacher, as guidance is essential to measure, monitor, and prevent errors in pronunciation. Hamalatul Qur'an does not adopt local or non-standard recitation styles such as "kruwas kruwes" or rhythmic sound patterns like "ning nang ning nung." As a structured method, Hamalatul Qur'an is designed to safeguard the recitation process from two primary issues [23]: ghurabāʾ (the use of foreign linguistic elements or sounds inconsistent with Arabic phonological rules) and khālī al-dhihnī (the inability to properly understand and apply the principles of correct recitation). Its main objective is to ensure that Qur'anic recitation adheres to widely recognized and accepted standards of *tajwīd* and *faṣāḥah* within the broader Muslim community

The Practical Phenomenon of the Tradition of Completing Qirāʾāt Sabʾah in Tahajud Prayer

Green defines tradition as a set of specific practices originating in the past and maintained by a community in the present due to certain interests or values considered important. [24] Tradition is not merely a collection of habits, but a practice that is consciously preserved and transmitted. In line with this, Shils views tradition as a reflection of continuity namely, the representation of the past that continues to be present in contemporary life. In certain circumstances, tradition can become so integrated with current reality that it appears as though it were a new innovation, while in fact it is deeply rooted in past heritage [25].

The tradition of *khatam* (completing the Qur'an) in Tahajud is one of the daily routine practices of Qur'anic recitation performed by the students, covering a *maqraʾ* of 30 juz in a continuous and repetitive manner. At Islamic Boarding School (Pondok Pesantren) of Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung, the completion of the Qur'an in Tahajud is carried out congregationally, with the recitation rotating through Qirāʾāt Sabʾah according to one narration at a time, such as the riwāyah of Qālūn from Nāfiʿ, Warsh from Nāfiʿ, Shuʿbah or Ḥafṣ from ʿĀṣim, al-Dūrī from Abū ʿAmr or al-Kisāʾī, until all the recitations of the imams along with their narrations are completed. The Tahajud prayer with Qirāʾāt Sabʾah has been

practiced since 2021 until the present. Utilizing available technology, the activity is broadcast through live streaming on the PPHQ Putri YouTube channel [26].

The tradition of completing the Qurʾan in prayer and practicing Qirāʾāt Sabʿah has long been carried out by the *salaf al-ṣāliḥ* and even among the Companions, such as Ubayy ibn Kaʿb, ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, Ibn Masʿūd, Ibn ʿUmar, Ibn ʿAbbās, Abū Bakr, Zayd ibn Thābit, and others. Several contemporary *qurrāʾ* also maintain the tradition of completing multiple recitations. For example, Muhammad bin Hakam Basyir completes the Qurʾan once every week using Qirāʾāt Sabʿah. The *muqriʾ* Fatḥ Muḥammad (d. 1407 H) from Pakistan completed the Qurʾan based on surahs or juz according to available time; if each narrator was completed in three days, then the entirety of Qirāʾāt ʿAshrah would be finished in sixty days, as it consists of twenty narrators. Likewise, Muhammad Abd al-Hamid Abdullah Khalil, a contemporary *qāriʾ*, completed Qirāʾāt ʿAshrah every month in night prayers or personal recitation, reading one *qāriʾ* along with all his narrations every three days [27][28].

In an interview with Ustadz Faiq Faizin, he explained the origin of the Tahajud activity with Qirāʾāt Sabʿah as follows:

"The Tahajud activity with Qirāʾāt Sabʿah began when a student named Alfin from Kudus requested to submit his Qirāʾah Sabʿah recitation to me. At that time, I directed him to my teacher, KH Muhtadi Mukhtar in Tebuireng. However, my teacher referred him back to me. Eventually, I had no choice but to begin accepting his Qirāʾah Sabʿah submission. Seeing his perseverance in traveling all the way from Jombang motivated me to review (menderes) Qirāʾāt Sabʿah within prayer and eventually formalize it as part of the Hamalatul Qurʾan Ringinagung program. I saw Tahajud as an obligatory pesantren activity that could encourage me to continuously review Qirāʾāt Sabʿah. At the same time, students who were in the process of submitting Qirāʾāt Sabʿah would greatly benefit by directly observing and listening to their teacher practice the recitations."

The Tahajud prayer using Qirāʾāt Sabʿah is conducted only when Ustadz Faiq Faizin serves as imam. In his absence, a student replaces him as imam but without using Qirāʾāt Sabʿah. He further explained that if a student has completed the level of Qirāʾāt Sabʿah memorization, he willingly offers them the opportunity to serve as substitute imam. Regarding correcting recitation errors, Ustadz Faiq Faizin explained:

"When the imam makes a mistake in recitation whether in applying the rules or in farsh al-ḥurūf of a particular narration the congregants behind him give correction. Most of those praying behind me have already studied Qirāʾah Sabʿah. Even if some have not, initially they try to follow and sense which Qirāʾah is being recited, and eventually they are able to correct rule-based mistakes. Of course, one of the congregants brings a Qirāʾāt mushaf to facilitate following the imam."

The Tahajud activity using Qirāʾāt Sabʿah may be categorized as a demanding practice rarely undertaken by most people. The Qurʾan is described as *qawlan thaqīlā* (a weighty word). In *Tafsīr Fatḥ al-Qadīr*, al-Shawkānī explains three classifications of "weightiness" [29]. First, the Qurʾan contains obligations and prohibitions, lawful and unlawful matters, promises and warnings; those who read it may feel its gravity unless their hearts are strengthened with divine guidance and faith. Second, "weighty" signifies noble, firm, substantial, and not trivial speech, since the Qurʾan is the word of Allah. Third, the description of weightiness is understood literally based on a hadith of the Prophet [30], which narrates that once, while receiving revelation on his camel, the animal collapsed with its chest pressed to the ground and could not move until the revelation was completed [31].

Interviews with three students who have completed the level of *tahfīẓ* Qirāʾāt Sabʿah Azidah Maghfiroh, Zharifa Zeira Mecca, and Siti Fathimah revealed their experiences in attending Tahajud prayer:

> *"For us, listening attentively* (menyimak) *during Tahajud is a challenge because after waking up, drowsiness can easily return. If one has already completed (khatam) the recitation, there is a possibility of becoming less serious in listening because one feels it is already memorized. One might even close the eyes (intending to be more focused) and still feel safe during the prayer. However, when listening to Qirāʾāt Sabʿah, we are required to be more meticulous about which words must be adjusted according to each narration. This truly trains our concentration and memorization. There is certainly an impact on our mastery of Qirāʾāt Sabʿah, especially for those of us who have already studied it. The congregational Tahajud model with Qirāʾāt Sabʿah becomes a place for us to perform* muroja'ah *(review), even if only by listening, and we are able to recall the specific rules of each imam."*

Based on observation, one significant finding is the application of the Living Qurʾan approach in the supplications recited after Tahajud prayer. The imam recites QS. Al-Isrāʾ: 77–82 and QS. Ṭāhā: 25–35.

QS. Al-Isrāʾ: 77–82

سُنَّةَ مَن قَدْ أَرْسَلْنَا قَبْلَكَ مِن رُّسُلِنَاۖ وَلَا تَجِدُ لِسُنَّتِنَا تَحْوِيلًا (77) أَقِمِ الصَّلَاةَ لِدُلُوكِ الشَّمْسِ إِلَىٰ غَسَقِ اللَّيْلِ وَقُرْآنَ الْفَجْرِۖ إِنَّ قُرْآنَ الْفَجْرِ كَانَ مَشْهُودًا (78) وَمِنَ اللَّيْلِ فَتَهَجَّدْ بِهِ نَافِلَةً لَّكَ عَسَىٰ أَن يَبْعَثَكَ رَبُّكَ مَقَامًا مَّحْمُودًا (79) وَقُل رَّبِّ أَدْخِلْنِي مُدْخَلَ صِدْقٍ وَأَخْرِجْنِي مُخْرَجَ صِدْقٍ وَاجْعَل لِّي مِن لَّدُنكَ سُلْطَانًا نَّصِيرًا (80) وَقُلْ جَاءَ الْحَقُّ وَزَهَقَ الْبَاطِلُ ۚ إِنَّ الْبَاطِلَ كَانَ زَهُوقًا (81) وَنُنَزِّلُ مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ مَا هُوَ شِفَاءٌ وَرَحْمَةٌ لِّلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ۙ وَلَا يَزِيدُ الظَّالِمِينَ إِلَّا خَسَارًا (82)

QS. Ṭāhā: 25–35

قَالَ رَبِّ اشْرَحْ لِي صَدْرِي (25) وَيَسِّرْ لِي أَمْرِي (26) وَاحْلُلْ عُقْدَةً مِّن لِّسَانِي (27)
يَفْقَهُوا قَوْلِي (28) وَاجْعَل لِّي وَزِيرًا مِّنْ أَهْلِي (29) هَارُونَ أَخِي (30) اشْدُدْ بِهِ أَزْرِي
وَأَشْرِكْهُ فِي أَمْرِي (32) كَيْ نُسَبِّحَكَ كَثِيرًا (33) وَنَذْكُرَكَ كَثِيرًا (34) إِنَّكَ كُنتَ (31)
بِنَا بَصِيرًا (35)

The Tahajud prayer along with the supplication of QS. Al-Isrāʾ: 77–82 became an inseparable *riyāḍah* (spiritual discipline) for KH Ainul Yaqin when initiating the establishment of the Hamalatul Qur'an pesantren in 2011. QS. Al-Isrāʾ: 77 affirms that Allah destroys communities who expel and kill prophets. However, in the context of the Quraysh disbelievers, Allah did not destroy them immediately because Prophet Muhammad was first commanded to migrate (hijrah) before their expulsion occurred [32]. QS. Al-Isrāʾ: 78–79 advises the establishment of prayer during the day and night, even in hardship. Tahajud was obligatory for the prophets and remains sunnah for Muslims [33]. The essence of the supplication lies particularly in QS. Al-Isrāʾ: 80, in which the Prophet prays to enter Madinah safely and to depart from Makkah sincerely and contentedly [34]. KH Ainul Yaqin explained that this Tahajud *riyāḍah* and supplication are intended as prayers for divine guidance and protection in implementing the pesantren's curriculum and programs.

QS. Ṭāhā: 25–35 was added later. KH Ainul Yaqin recited this supplication while performing ṭawāf at Masjid al-Ḥarām in 2019, during a time when he faced institutional challenges specifically, the absence of a capable student to be entrusted as head of one of the dormitory programs, Wadil Qur'an. The verse وَاجْعَل لِّي وَزِيرًا مِّنْ أَهْلِي was articulated as a prayer for a trustworthy and capable leader. After returning from ʿumrah, KH Ainul Yaqin encountered a student named Ahmad Muhajir from Demak, an alumnus of Pesantren Al-Anwar Sarang, who continued his studies at Hamalatul Qur'an. His rapid completion of *tahfīẓ* and strong linguistic competence became considerations for appointing him as head of the Wadil Qur'an dormitory.

Subsequently, KH Ainul Yaqin appointed another student, Mu'arif from Cilacap, whose communication skills and bureaucratic management abilities qualified him to lead the Salafiyyah dormitory of Hamalatul Qur'an. However, before discovering these figures, KH Ainul Yaqin experienced repeated obstacles and tests in cadre formation, including various failures in selecting leaders who met the expected standards. Through the consistent practice of Tahajud *riyāḍah*, he sought divine strength, protection, and perseverance in sustaining the Hamalatul Qur'an programs.

This aligns with the interpretation of al-Ālūsī, who explains that the phrase وَاجْعَل لِّي وَزِيرًا مِّنْ أَهْلِي continues the supplication of Prophet Musa to Allah, requesting that his brother Harun be appointed as a prophet due to his competence in assisting him in confronting Pharaoh [35]. Thus, the two supplications were not practiced simultaneously from the beginning. QS. Al-Isrāʾ: 77–82 has been recited since 2011, coinciding with the establishment of the pesantren. Since 2019 until the present, QS. Ṭāhā: 25–35 has been added and recited together with the former as part of the ongoing spiritual discipline.

The Pedagogical Process of Learning Qirāʾāt Sabʿah at Islamic Boarding School (Pondok Pesantren) of Hamalatul Qurʾan Ringinagung, Kediri

The Qirāʾāt Sabʿah submission (*setoran*) activities at Islamic Boarding School (Pondok Pesantren) of Hamalatul Qurʾan Ringinagung use the book *Fayḍ al-Barakāt fī Sabʿ al-Qirāʾāt* authored by KH M. Arwani Amin as the primary reference. This book serves as a guide for reciting the Qurʾan using the *jamʿ kubrā* method. KH Arwani Amin composed it during his period of submission to KH Muhammad Munawwir, aiming to facilitate later generations in learning Qirāʾāt Sabʿah and to shorten the duration required to master it [36]. Previously, during his four years of study (1926–1930) at Tebuireng, KH Arwani Amin studied the theory of Qirāʾāt Sabʿah under KH M. Hasyim Asy'ari, using the book *Sirāj al-Qārī'*, a commentary on *Ḥirz al-Amānī wa Wajh al-Tahānī* by Imam al-Shāṭibī [37].

The introduction of Qirāʾāt Sabʿah to Islamic Boarding School (Pondok Pesantren) of Hamalatul Qurʾan Jogoroto Jombang began with Ustadz Faiq Faizin from Jember. In 2013, he was mandated by KH Ainul Yaqin, the caretaker of the Hamalatul Qurʾan pesantren, to pursue post-*tahfīẓ* studies at Pesantren Bayt Al-Qurʾan, South Tangerang, under the guidance of M. Quraish Shihab and the scholars of the Pusat Studi Al-Qurʾan, including KH Ahsin Sakho Muhammad. Through this program, Ustadz Faiq Faizin began intensive theoretical study of Qirāʾāt Sabʿah. After completing approximately six months of post-*tahfīẓ* education, he returned to Hamalatul Qurʾan and continued his Qirāʾāt Sabʿah submission to KH Muhtadi Mukhtar from 2014 until 2017. KH Muhtadi Mukhtar was a third-generation student who completed Qirāʾāt Sabʿah through a chain of transmission from KH Khoirurrofiq (Kendal), KH Makshum Zubaidi (Solo), KH Marzuqi Khoiruddin (Malang), KH Hisyam Hayyat (Kudus), KH Arwani Amin (Kudus), up to KH Muhammad Munawwir (Yogyakarta) [38]. In 2018, Ustadz Faiq Faizin was entrusted by KH Ainul Yaqin to lead Islamic Boarding School (Pondok Pesantren) of Hamalatul Qurʾan Putri Ringinagung, implementing the habituation program while continuing the scholarly chain (*sanad*) of Qirāʾāt in the institution.

For beginners, *Fayḍ al-Barakāt* is considered quite demanding because it does not elaborate in detail on the differences among the Qirā'āt imams nor systematically explain rule-based disagreements. Instead, it emphasizes the exposition of *farsh al-ḥurūf* from beginning to end. Therefore, students are not permitted to directly begin Qirā'āt Sab'ah submission. They are first required to participate in a Dawrah Qirā'ah Sab'ah as foundational preparation.

According to an interview with Ustadzah Ratu Bilqis:

> *"The study of Qirā'āt is structured and focused, yet delivered in a way that students can follow. We are directly guided by Ustadz Faiq. The main program is a one-month intensive Dawrah Qirā'āt Sab'ah. At the beginning, students do not immediately submit recitations but are equipped with foundational knowledge, including memorizing the names of the seven Qirā'āt imams and their transmitters, understanding Qirā'āt terminology, and strengthening Arabic foundations through the* Arba'īn Nahwu Shorof *method so students understand the reasons behind recitational differences. Only after this foundation is considered sufficient do students gradually begin the submission stage."*

After completing the *dawrah*, students proceed to memorization submission using three methods: *ifrad*, *jam' sughrā*, and *jam' kubrā* [39]. 1) Ifrad Method, Reciting the Qur'an using only one narration from a specific transmitter without mixing others [40]. For example, reading the riwāyah of Khalaf from Imam Hamzah. In Qirā'āt Sab'ah there are seven imams, each with two transmitters (fourteen narrations). At Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung, *ifrad* is applied only to Juz 1, rotating through all fourteen narrations. 2) Jam' Sughrā Method, linguistically meaning "to combine," this method merges the two transmitters of each imam [41]. It is also practiced only in Juz 1, such as combining al-Dūrī and al-Sūsī from Imam Abū 'Amr al-Baṣrī, or Hishām and Ibn Dhakwān from Imam Ibn 'Āmir. Students must complete Juz 1 using both *ifrad* and *jam' sughrā* before progressing further. 3) Jam' Kubrā Method, The comprehensive merging of all Qirā'āt Sab'ah imams' recitations [42]. Verses containing differences (*ikhtilāf*) are repeated according to each imam's reading, while identical readings are recited once. At this stage, students submit their memorization continuously from Juz 1 to completion using *Fayḍ al-Barakāt*, which is systematically arranged according to the *jam' kubrā* method.

Submission sessions are conducted intensively three times daily to ensure measurable learning acceleration. When face-to-face sessions are not possible, submissions are conducted online via video call platforms such as Google Meet or Zoom directly with Ustadz Faiq Faizin. If he is unavailable, a designated substitute (*badal*) ensures continuity. The Qirā'āt Sab'ah program is selective. Only students who have completed 30 juz *tahfīẓ* with strong recitation, have performed *tasmi'* fluently, are ready to embrace recitational differences, and are prepared for a disciplined schedule may enroll.
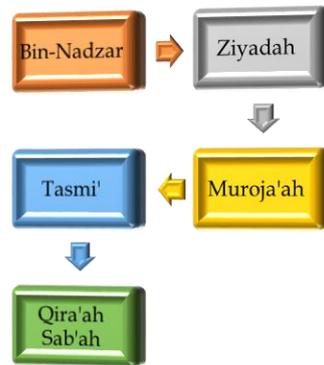
Figure 1. A Structured Pedagogical Framework for Advancement to Qirā'āt Sab'ah

The application of Qirā'āt Sab'ah is not limited to formal submission sessions but is also integrated into congregational Tahajud prayer. The wisdom derived includes enhanced collective understanding of Qirā'āt recitations, formation of habituation patterns in recognizing recitational differences through lived practice, and reduced unfamiliarity when hearing variant recitations outside the dominant Ḥafṣ narration. Thus, Qirā'āt is not merely studied theoretically but actualized within worship embodying the Living Qur'an in practice.

The Tradition of Completing Qirā'āt Sab'ah in Tahajud Prayer from the Perspective of Pierre Bourdieu

Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002) was a French sociologist known as the originator and developer of the theory of *habitus*, which has had a major influence on postmodern humanities and social sciences. His theory represents a synthesis of two preceding theoretical traditions: Claude Levi-Strauss's structuralism and Jean-Paul Sartre's existentialism [43]. Structuralism assumes that the rules operating within every society form a system. According to this view, various social events are essentially predictable because human actions are shaped and directed by binding structures and rules [44] In contrast, Jean-Paul Sartre emphasized that each individual's actions are determined by personal choice rather than by law or social structure. In this perspective, human beings are viewed as free subjects who are simultaneously responsible for their actions [45].

Pierre Bourdieu integrated these two perspectives into a new theoretical framework known as constructive structuralism. In his view, there is a reciprocal relationship between subjectivity and objectivity between agents and social structures. Through his ethnographic research among the Kabyle community in Algeria, Bourdieu demonstrated that officially recognized marriage rules were in fact rarely practiced rigidly; rather, they were selectively applied according to the interests of the actors involved [46]. According to Bourdieu's theory, human social life is shaped by the interaction between subjective and objective

dimensions, which together influence and construct social reality. His framework of social practice is formulated into three main concepts: habitus, capital, and field, expressed in the equation:

(Habitus × Capital) + Field = Practice

Table. 1. Table of Bourdieu's Formula

Element	Definition	Function in the Formula
Habitus	Dispositions, mindsets, habits, and tendencies embedded within individuals through socialization processes	The internal motor directing ways of acting
Capital	Resources possessed by individuals	The driving force or power to act
Field	The social arena where interaction and competition occur	The playing space with its own rules and power structures
Practice	Concrete actions produced	The final outcome of the interaction between habitus, capital, and field

Habitus constitutes a cognitive and dispositional framework through which individuals interpret, evaluate, and respond to social reality, while simultaneously serving as the source of life practices aligned with the objective structures surrounding them. Structure and practice are inseparable dimensions, as habitus forms the foundation of individual orientation and personality. The formation and operation of habitus rely on the regularity of repeated social experiences, while the actualization of practice depends more on improvisational capacity than on rigid adherence to formal rules [47]. Capital, as defined by Bourdieu, refers to thoughts, interests, or resources at stake within a field and is not always material in nature. Competition among agents is not necessarily based on conscious calculation. Here, Bourdieu aligns with Karl Marx's theory that economic capital can enable control over other forms of capital [48]. Field is defined by Bourdieu as a network or configuration of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants agents and institutions based on their actual and potential situations within the structure of power (or capital) distribution. Possession of power (or capital) grants access to advantages at stake within the field, as well as objective relations with other positions (such as domination, subordination, homology, etc.) [49].

In this study, habitus is understood as the dispositional, cognitive, and practical framework formed through the repeated religious experiences of students (*santri*) in performing Tahajud prayer with Qirā'āt Sab'ah. Habitus functions as an interpretive framework that nurtures students' desire to understand and love the Qur'an while simultaneously integrating Qirā'āt Sab'ah scholarship into the routine practice of Tahajud, aligned with the objective structure of Pondok Pesantren Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung. The formation of

habitus does not occur merely through normative obedience but through the internalization of values, exemplary conduct, and sustained activities, resulting in consistent and voluntary behavioral patterns among students.

Bourdieu classifies capital into four categories: economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital [50]. In the context of Pondok Pesantren Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung, the capital possessed by Ustadz Faiq Faizin as the caretaker falls primarily into the categories of cultural and social capital, occupying the highest hierarchical position within the pesantren's social structure. Cultural capital may be understood as the set of capacities or competencies possessed by an individual, including knowledge, skills, social interaction patterns, and other abilities that shape and reproduce social position. Mastery of Qirā'āt Sab'ah, the ability to recite the Qur'an according to *qudwat al-qirā'āt*, scholarly etiquette (*adab*), and modes of interaction within pesantren tradition are embodied in physical dispositions and religious consciousness recognized and valued within the pesantren environment. This capital also appears in institutionalized forms, such as the legitimacy granted by the *kyai*, the certification of *sanad* (chain of transmission), and socially acknowledged scholarly status [51].

Field, within the concept of habitus, cannot be separated from it; both are interrelated and mutually constitutive. In this context, the field refers to Pondok Pesantren Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung as a socio-religious space possessing an objective structure in the form of rules, traditions, vision, and mission directed toward achieving mastery of Qur'anic scholarship. Bourdieu views the field as a site of social struggle. Accordingly, the pesantren can be seen as an arena of social practice contestation, where the Tradition of Completing Qirā'āt Sab'ah in Tahajud Prayer functions as a legitimate culture. Social actors such as the *kyai*, administrators, teachers, and students occupy specific positions and gain recognition through their involvement and roles within this field [52].
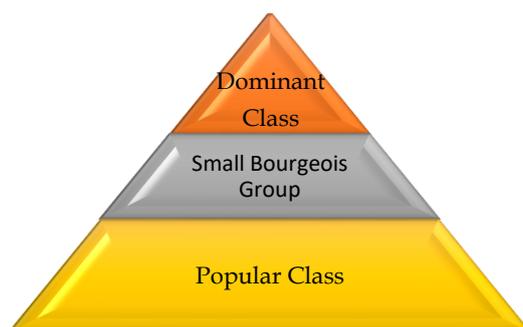

Figure 2. Bourdieu's framework

Within Bourdieu's framework, the position of social actors—whether individually or collectively is determined by their location in the social space structured by the volume and composition of capital they possess. In the context of the Tradition of Completing Qirā'āt Sab'ah in Tahajud Prayer at Pondok

Pesantren Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung, the central role is strongly influenced by Ustadz Faiq Faizin as the dominant actor who holds a significant accumulation of capital within this practice. The possession of such capital places him in a strategic position to determine the direction, legitimacy, and reproduction of the tradition. His authority is not merely administrative but symbolic and cultural, enabling him to define what constitutes legitimate religious practice within the pesantren's social structure.

Based on capital ownership, Pierre Bourdieu conceptualizes society along a vertical dimension [53]. First, there is the dominant class, characterized by a substantial accumulation of capital. Within this class, various forms of capital converge, allowing its members to affirm their social identity as actors who define and determine legitimate culture. They possess the authority to shape norms, values, and standards recognized within the field.

Second, there is the petty bourgeoisie or small bourgeois group. This group aspires to ascend the social hierarchy through directed life practices and often tends to imitate the culture of the dominant class. In the pesantren context, this position is occupied by the *ustadzah* (female teachers) and administrators, who participate actively in sustaining and implementing the tradition while simultaneously reinforcing their proximity to the dominant cultural authority.

Third, there is the popular class, characterized by limited or minimal possession of the four types of capital previously outlined economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. In this context, this group is represented by the *santri* (students). Although they may not initially possess significant capital, they participate in the reproduction of the tradition through practice, discipline, and gradual acquisition of cultural and symbolic capital within the pesantren field. Through this structured interaction, the tradition of completing Qirā'āt Sab'ah in Tahajud prayer is continuously maintained and reproduced across hierarchical positions within the social space.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that the tradition of completing (khatam) the Seven Qirā'āt (Qirā'āt Sab'ah) during the Tahajud prayer at Pondok Pesantren Hamalatul Qur'an Ringinagung, Kediri, represents not merely a ritual practice, but a concrete integration of the discipline of Qirā'āt studies with the Living Qur'an approach within the pesantren's religious life. The tradition emerges from a systematic pedagogical process, authoritative transmission of sanad (chains of transmission), and a structured habituation model embedded in daily tahfidh and spiritual discipline (riyāḍah).

From Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical perspective, this tradition can be understood as the outcome of the dialectical relationship between habitus,

capital, and field. The students' habitus is formed through repetitive engagement in Tahajud and Qirā'āt Sab'ah practices, gradually producing a naturalized religious disposition. Cultural capital manifested in mastery of Qirā'āt Sab'ah, sanad legitimacy, and symbolic religious authority positions certain actors, particularly Ustadz Faiq Faizin, within a dominant role in the pesantren's social structure. Meanwhile, the pesantren functions as a field that legitimizes and reproduces the tradition through its institutional rules, vision, and religious authority. Consequently, the tradition of Khatam Qirā'āt Sab'ah is continuously produced and reproduced as a legitimate and prestigious social practice within the pesantren structure. Theoretically, this study reinforces the Living Qur'an paradigm as a dynamic analytical framework for understanding the interaction between sacred text and social reality. Methodologically, it demonstrates that integrating Qirā'āt studies with Bourdieu's social theory provides a comprehensive explanation of how religious practices are not merely individual devotional acts, but socially constructed, institutionalized, and systematically reproduced practices within Islamic educational institutions.

Author Contributions

Muhammad Dzikru Alfin Maulaya: Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing – review & editing, Supervision, Project administration. **Naili Ni'matun Iliyyun**: Methodology, Writing – review & editing, Investigation. **Nurul A'yun, Bagus Ahmad Muzaki & Hamdan Al Masruri**: Translator & editing.

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Conflict of Interest

"The authors declare no conflicts of interest".

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