



Premarital Religious Education in the Rifa'iyah Tradition: A Living Hadith Study of Kitab Tabyīn al-Iṣlāḥ Learning Practices in Pekalongan

Tarig Mansour¹

University of Gezira, Sudan¹

tarig.mansour@uofg.edu.sd¹

Ajid Syafi²

Ma'had Aly Hasyim Asy'ari, Indonesia²

elsyafi524@gmail.com²

Mashur Mashur³

STIT Al-Urwatul Wutsqo Jombang, Indonesia³

alazhartv2018@gmail.com³

Muhammad Alamudin⁴

Ma'had Aly Hasyim Asy'ari, Indonesia⁴

muhammadalamudin03@gmail.com⁴

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Abstract

The pursuit of religious knowledge in Islam constitutes a fundamental obligation that transcends the boundaries of formal ritual worship, extending into every dimension of human existence, including the sacred bond of matrimony. This research investigates the religious practice of studying the classical text Kitab Tabyīn al-Iṣlāḥ as a preparatory measure for marriage among members of the Rifa'iyah community residing in Bojong Minggir, Pekalongan. This practice represents a concrete manifestation of prophetic teachings being enacted within the fabric of everyday social reality. Utilizing a descriptive qualitative methodology grounded in field research, this study employs participatory observation, comprehensive interviews with religious instructors, community elders, and younger participants, alongside documentary evidence to capture the full complexity of this tradition. The research findings indicate that the tradition operates through two principal modalities: individualized study sessions conducted in private settings with local religious authorities, and collective study circles organized on a regular basis by the HIMMAH organization (Himpunan Mar'ah Rifa'iyah), which incorporate the textual study alongside supplementary religious activities including devotional recitations, Quranic reading, and oratory practice. At the heart of this practice lies the systematic instruction of Kitab Tabyīn al-Iṣlāḥ coupled with intensive question-and-answer dialogues, which demonstrates substantial correspondence with the prophetic saying that "knowledge is a treasury, and its key is questioning, therefore ask." The community's engagement with this tradition is propelled by multiple interconnected motivations, encompassing educational awareness of religious knowledge deficits, theological consciousness regarding marriage as an act of worship requiring intellectual preparation, collective social responsibility and solidarity, and emulation of preceding generations who established this practice as an enduring community norm. This research concludes that the tradition of studying Kitab Tabyīn al-Iṣlāḥ prior to marriage constitutes a vivid embodiment of living hadith, wherein prophetic teachings transcend textual interpretation to become actively integrated into indigenous cultural practices, thereby reinforcing both spiritual relationships between teachers and students and broader social cohesion within the Rifa'iyah

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community. This investigation contributes to the expanding academic discourse concerning how Islamic normative traditions are continuously negotiated, adapted, and sustained across diverse socio-cultural landscapes.

Keywords: Religious Knowledge Acquisition, Premarital Religious Education, Tabyīn al-Iṣlāḥ, Prophetic Traditions, Living Hadith Studies

Introduction

The acquisition of knowledge occupies a position of central importance in Islamic teachings, serving as the foundation upon which all meaningful human action rests. Without adequate knowledge, individuals cannot properly fulfill their obligations, whether in matters of livelihood, worship, or daily activities such as eating and drinking. This necessity becomes particularly pronounced when approaching acts of worship that carry profound personal and social significance, among which marriage stands preeminent.¹ When individuals lack understanding of their responsibilities as servants of God, the attainment of happiness and salvation in both worldly and otherworldly spheres becomes severely compromised. Classical Islamic scholarship has consistently emphasized this principle, with Imam al-Qaraḥi documenting a scholarly consensus transmitted from Imam al-Shafi'i and Imam al-Ghazali that no responsible person may undertake any action without first ascertaining God's ruling concerning it. This foundational principle establishes that every activity, whether commercial transactions or acts of devotion, demands prior knowledge to prevent unwitting transgression.²

Among all forms of contractual agreements and social relationships, marriage occupies a uniquely significant and intimate position, rendering it particularly deserving of thorough study and comprehension. Islamic teachings place extraordinary emphasis on adequate preparation for marriage, as evidenced by the Prophet Muhammad's explicit guidance to select spouses on the basis of religious commitment and moral character.³ Within the Indonesian legal framework, marriage is formally defined as both a physical and spiritual union intended to establish a happy and enduring family founded upon belief in the One God.⁴ This spiritual dimension is further enriched and complicated by the diverse cultural traditions that permeate Indonesian social life, creating a dynamic interplay between religious norms and local customs.⁵

The Rifa'iyah community represents a compelling example of this integration between religious doctrine and cultural tradition. Established by Sheikh Ahmad Rifa'i during the mid-nineteenth century, this traditional Islamic group has maintained distinctive practices that reflect their commitment to orthodox Islamic teachings while simultaneously adapting to local Indonesian contexts. In preparation for marriage, community members engage in the systematic study of *Kitab Tabyīn al-Iṣlāḥ* (The Book of Clarification of Reform), a text authored by Sheikh

¹Muhammad Royyan Faqih Azhary et al., "UNDERSTANDING OF THE AYNA ALLAH HADITH: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY TAḤLĪLĪ STUDY," *Nabawi: Journal of Hadith Studies* 5, no. 2 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.55987/njhs.v5i2.156>.

²Syahidil Mubarik Mh and Ekatul Hilwatis Sakinah, "THE VERNACULARIZATION OF SUNNAH: HADITH RECEPTION AND LOCAL IDENTITY IN THE RASULAN TRADITION OF NGALANG VILLAGE," *Nabawi: Journal of Hadith Studies* 7, no. 1 (2026), <https://doi.org/10.55987/njhs.v6i2.240>.

³Achmad Roziqi et al., "Institutional Ijtihād and Socio-Legal Adaptation: The Formulation of Waṣiyah Wājibah in Indonesia's Compilation of Islamic Law," *Asy-Syir'ah: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah dan Hukum* 59, no. 1 (2025): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajish.v59i1.1517>.

⁴M. Rizki Syahrul Ramadhan, "METODE KRITIK HADIS ALI MUSTAFA YAQUB; ANTARA TEORI DAN APLIKASI," *Nabawi: Journal of Hadith Studies* 1, no. 1 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.55987/njhs.v1i1.5>.

⁵Wikhdatur Khasanah, "Kewajiban menuntut ilmu dalam Islam," *Jurnal Riset Agama* 1, no. 2 (2021): 297.

Ahmad Rifa'i himself that addresses various dimensions of marital jurisprudence and ethics. The community operates on the fundamental principle that actions undertaken without proper scientific or religious foundation lack validity, thereby rendering the study of this book a prerequisite for legitimate marriage according to their theological framework.⁶

The composition of *Kitab Tabyīn al-Iṣlāḥ* was significantly influenced by the socio-political circumstances of its era, particularly the Dutch colonial administration's appointment of marriage registrars (*penghulu*) who possessed insufficient understanding of Arabic legal texts, potentially leading to the misguidance of the general population.⁷ This historical context illuminates the book's function as an instrument of religious empowerment and preservation of authentic Islamic practice amid external pressures. The tradition manifests through two principal forms: private instructional sessions conducted individually between prospective spouses and local religious teachers (*kyaī*), and public study gatherings organized by the HIMMAH organization (Himpunan Mar'ah Rifa'iyah, or Rifa'iyah Women's Association). These public gatherings occur on a regular schedule and incorporate multiple religious activities culminating in the study of *Kitab Tabyīn al-Iṣlāḥ*.

This premarital educational practice constitutes a significant example of "living hadith," wherein prophetic teachings transcend mere textual study to become actively incorporated into daily community life. It exemplifies the dynamic interaction between normative religious authority and local cultural expression, ensuring that the sacred institution of marriage is approached with requisite knowledge and spiritual preparation. Against this background, the present study articulates two primary objectives. The first objective concerns describing the implementation process of the tradition of studying *Kitab Tabyīn al-Iṣlāḥ* before marriage within the Rifa'iyah community. The second objective involves analyzing and identifying the underlying motivations that prompt community members to participate actively in this premarital educational tradition. Through the achievement of these objectives, this research aspires to contribute to the expanding field of living hadith studies while providing comprehensive understanding of how prophetic traditions become integrated into local cultural practices.

Research Method

This investigation employs a qualitative research design with field research orientation, conducted through direct engagement with and observation of the social environment, alongside analysis of relevant documentary materials. The essence of this qualitative approach lies in its emphasis on descriptive data—encompassing words, actions, and social meanings—rather than quantitative measurements or statistical analysis.⁸ The specific methodological framework adopted is descriptive in nature, aiming to systematically portray the facts, characteristics, and dynamics pertaining to the research subject. This approach was selected for its capacity to generate profound understanding of the personal perspectives and lived experiences of research participants.⁹

⁶ Ahmad bin Idris bin Abd al-Rahman al-Qarafi, *Anwar al-Buruq fi Anwa' al-Furuq* (Beirut: 'Alam al-Kutub, n.d.), 1: 223.

⁷ Muhammad Iqbal, *Psikologi Pernikahan: Menyelami Rahasia Pernikahan* (Depok: Gema Insani, 2020), 5.

⁸ M. Rijal Fadli, "Memahami desain metode penelitian kualitatif," *Humanika: Kajian Ilmiah Mata Kuliah Umum* 21, no. 1 (2021): 33-54.

⁹ Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan: Pendekatan Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2013).

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The data for this study derives from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was obtained through direct participation in the study sessions of *Kitab Tabyīn al-Iṣlāḥ*, observing the instructional processes, interactional patterns, and social-religious context. Comprehensive interviews were conducted with key informants including religious instructors, community leaders, and younger individuals who had undergone the learning experience. Secondary data was gathered from written sources addressing *Kitab Tabyīn al-Iṣlāḥ*, literature concerning living hadith methodology, previous research on the Rifa'iyah community, and scholarly works examining the educational and social impacts of premarital religious instruction.¹⁰

Multiple data collection techniques were employed to ensure comprehensive and reliable findings. Participatory observation enabled the researcher to attend study sessions and observe interactions between teachers and students within their broader social and religious environment. Open-ended and semi-structured interviews were conducted with religious instructors, community elders, ordinary members, and younger participants who had experienced the tradition firsthand. This interview methodology facilitated in-depth exploration of participant perceptions and motivations. Additionally, photographic and video documentation of learning activities was collected to supplement and enrich data obtained through observation and interviews.¹¹

Data analysis followed an interactive model conducted both during and after the data collection phase. This analytical process encompassed data reduction, involving the selection and concentration on essential information; data display, comprising the organization of data into descriptive text to illuminate connections between phenomena; and conclusion drawing, entailing interpretation of data to address research inquiries.

Results and Discussion

Implementation and Motivations Underlying the Study of *Kitab Tabyīn al-Iṣlāḥ*

The tradition of studying *Kitab Tabyīn al-Iṣlāḥ* represents a deeply entrenched practice within the Rifa'iyah community. Although this tradition is observed across various regions, the present investigation concentrates specifically on the Bojong District of Pekalongan Regency, an area where this practice continues to be vigorously maintained. The community's steadfast commitment to this practice represents a direct continuation of the teachings of its founder, Sheikh Ahmad Rifa'i, and functions as a defining element of their religious identity. The Rifa'iyah community, established as a traditional Islamic movement during the mid-nineteenth century in Kalisalak, Batang district, has historically played a significant role in disseminating Islamic teachings while simultaneously resisting colonial domination. The designation "Rifa'iyah" derives from K.H.A. Rifa'i himself as founder and leader of this religious congregation.

Regarding implementation, the tradition manifests through two principal forms. The first form involves private study, comprising direct, one-on-one instructional sessions between prospective spouses and a local *kyai*, typically conducted within the teacher's residence. This model facilitates more personalized and comprehensive discussion of matters pertinent to the specific circumstances of the couple. The second form involves public study, comprising more formal, open study circles organized by the HIMMAH organization. These sessions are conducted every Friday Pon (according to the Javanese calendar) from 1:30 PM to 4:00 PM, with locations

¹⁰ Sahiron Syamsuddin, *Metodologi Penelitian Living Qur'an dan Hadits* (Yogyakarta: Teras, 2007).

¹¹ Muhammad Rusli, "Merancang penelitian kualitatif dasar/deskriptif dan studi kasus," *Al-Ubudiyah: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Studi Islam* 2, no. 1 (2021): 48-60.

rotating among villages throughout the region. Each session encompasses a series of religious activities including the singing of *lalaran* (Javanese poetic compositions by Sheikh Rifa'i), performance of *tahlil* and *tawassul* (prayers and invocations seeking blessings), Quranic recitation, and oratory training sessions. The principal event comprises the teaching of *Kitab Tabyīn al-İslāh*, followed by an extensive question-and-answer session.

The structure of the public study sessions reflects the community's dedication to holistic religious education, integrating spiritual, intellectual, and social dimensions to ensure that participants acquire not only knowledge but also strengthened faith and communal bonds. Both instructional models share the ultimate objective of providing necessary religious knowledge for constructing strong and stable marriages, a principle transmitted across successive generations. This practice occupies such a central position that the Rifa'iyah community maintains the principle that studying *Kitab Tabyīn al-İslāh* constitutes a legally valid requirement for marriage according to their interpretation of Islamic jurisprudence. Those who fail to study the book are regarded as having marriages that lack validity according to community standards.

The motivations underlying participation in this tradition are diverse yet interconnected, reflecting a combination of personal, religious, and social factors. An educational motivation constitutes a primary driver, arising from awareness of limited religious knowledge, particularly among individuals who have not attended Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*).¹² For such individuals, these study sessions represent vital opportunities to acquire knowledge necessary for navigating marital life correctly. A religious motivation also operates powerfully, as the Rifa'iyah community regards marriage as an act of worship (*ibadah*) requiring proper preparation and knowledge for performance in accordance with divine pleasure. Studying the book is understood as obtaining essential "provisions" for this significant act of devotion.

The practice receives strong reinforcement from collective social consciousness. Community members share an understanding that attendance at these sessions constitutes both a communal obligation and a means of overcoming ignorance. This collective support ensures the tradition's sustainability across generations. Additionally, the tradition is perpetuated through the example set by previous generations. Younger community members observing their elders studying before marriage naturally incline toward following the same path, creating a self-perpetuating cycle of learning. The tradition further functions to develop readiness across spiritual, emotional, intellectual, and social dimensions for the realization of a household characterized by tranquility, love, and mercy (*sakinah mawaddah wa rahmah*).

Relationship Between the Tradition and Prophetic Hadith as Living Hadith Expression

The tradition of studying *Kitab Tabyīn al-İslāh* transcends mere cultural practice to become intrinsically connected with the teachings of Prophet Muhammad. The prophetic traditions referenced in this practice serve as its normative foundation, which the community actively embodies. The Prophet declared, "A woman is married for four things: her wealth, her lineage, her beauty, and her religion. So choose the religious one, may you prosper."¹³ This hadith establishes religious character as the primary criterion in marriage selection, a quality cultivated through the study of religious sciences.¹⁴ Consequently, studying *Kitab Tabyīn al-İslāh* represents a practical step for prospective spouses to ensure their preparedness for establishing a household founded upon faith. Similarly, the prophetic statement, "If there comes to you one whose religion

¹² Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 1 Tahun 1974 tentang Perkawinan, Pasal 1.

¹³ Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-İslāmī, 1998), no. 1084.

¹⁴ Muhammad Alfatih Suryadilaga, "Penelitian Living Hadits," (materi ajar, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta).

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and character please you, then marry him," reinforces the principle that male leadership within the family must rest upon religious knowledge and moral integrity, prerequisites fulfilled through studying the book before marriage. The Rifa'iyah tradition interprets these hadiths as obligating selectivity in partner choice, with the book serving as both medium and measure in this selection process.¹⁵

The hadith, "To whomsoever Allah wishes good, He gives understanding of the religion,"¹⁶ emphasizes that authentic religious commitment involves proper comprehension of the faith. This understanding is not automatic but rather achieved through dedicated study.¹⁷ For the Rifa'iyah community, studying *Kitab Tabyīn al-İslāh* represents direct application of this principle, enabling individuals to become knowledgeable and righteous spouses. Another prophetic tradition states, "Seeking knowledge is an obligation upon every Muslim," which serves as the driving force behind the community's premarital education initiative.¹⁸ Scholars have explained that this obligation extends specifically to knowledge required for any action one intends to undertake, including rules and etiquettes pertaining to marriage and divorce. The Rifa'iyah community's tradition thus represents a practical embodiment of this obligation.¹⁹

The Prophet further stated, "Knowledge is a treasure trove, and its key is asking, so ask." This hadith underpins the core methodology of the tradition. The instructional sessions, particularly the question-and-answer segments, function as the practical "key" for unlocking the wisdom contained within *Kitab Tabyīn al-İslāh*. This practice exemplifies the "living hadith" concept, wherein prophetic teaching transforms into active, participatory learning. It demonstrates that the community engages knowledge actively rather than passively receiving it, seeking answers to specific concerns to ensure actions are grounded in understanding.²⁰

This tradition can be understood as a vivid manifestation of "living hadith" as conceptualized by scholars such as M. Alfatih Suryadilaga. Within this framework, hadith functions not merely as text for study but as source of inspiration and guide for behavior actively lived and practiced. Whereas textual hadith studies focus on authenticity of transmission chains (*sanad*) and text (*matan*), living hadith studies concentrate on actual practices and expressions of hadith manifested in everyday community life. This approach represents an integrative methodology engaging hadith with various social science disciplines including anthropology and phenomenology.²¹

The tradition centers upon the physical text of *Kitab Tabyīn al-İslāh*, providing tangible connection to Sheikh Ahmad Rifa'i's scholarship and the prophetic traditions it contains. This represents what scholars identify as the tradition of writing. The book itself is composed in Javanese using Arabic script (Pegon), rendering it accessible to the local population. Its contents encompass two chapters addressing the pillars of marriage, suitability of partners (*kafa'ah*),

¹⁵ Fadhila and Amaruli, "Organisasi Rifa'iyah dan Eksistensinya di Kabupaten Wonosobo," 91.

¹⁶ Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1415 AH), no. 5090.

¹⁷ Dwi Hartini, Nuzula Ilhami, and Taufiqurohman Taufiqurohman, "Membincang Akulturasi Pernikahan: Makna Tradisi Mapacci Pada Pernikahan Adat Suku Bugis Makasar," *Tasyri': Journal of Islamic Law* 1, no. 1 (2022): 2.

¹⁸ Nila Asna Fadhila and Rabith Jihan Amaruli, "Organisasi Rifa'iyah dan Eksistensinya di Kabupaten Wonosobo, 1965-2015: Pengajian, Pesantren, dan Sekolah," *Historiografi* 1, no. 1 (2020): 91.

¹⁹ Talhis Afdian Syah, "Pelaksanaan Pernikahan Jam'iyah Rifa'iyah Di Desa Tanahbaya Kecamatan Randudongkal Kabupaten Pemalang" (Skripsi, IAIN Purwokerto, 2015).

²⁰ Ahmad Rifa'i, *Tabyīn al-İslāh* (Semarang: Matba'ah Jama'ah Rifa'iyah, 2004).

²¹ Jajang A. Rohmana, "Pendekatan Antropologi Dalam Studi Living Hadis Di Indonesia: Sebuah Kajian Awal," *Holistic Al-Hadis* 1, no. 2 (2015): 247-288.

dowry, wedding feast (*walimah*), spousal discord and disobedience (*nusyuz*), divorce proceedings (*khulu'*), separation (*thalak*), waiting period (*'iddah*), financial support (*nafaqoh*), and child custody (*hadhonah*).²² The tradition is further sustained through oral transmission, as teachers read, explain, and discuss the book's contents in study circles while students listen, pose questions, and recite material, representing the tradition of oral speech. Most significantly, the tradition constitutes a form of practice, as the community actively applies the prophetic call to seek knowledge and act upon it through premarital study, representing the tradition of practice.

Within the living hadith framework, *Kitab Tabyin al-Islāh* functions not merely as text but as a site of negotiation between prophetic norms and social reality. The community's requirement to complete the book's study (*khatam*) before marriage demonstrates how prophetic values become internalized and institutionalized within the community. This process aligns with social construction theory, wherein the prophetic value of knowledge transforms into enduring social practice through externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Furthermore, the tradition illustrates how hadith agency operates through three temporal orientations: past-oriented reactivation of inherited prophetic norms (the authority of K.H.A. Rifa'i), future-oriented reconfiguration of hadith meanings responding to social aspirations (establishing a *sakinah* family), and present-oriented evaluation of normative choices in concrete situations (the decision to study the book before marriage).²³ The community's practice also reflects schema transposability, wherein prophetic norms transfer into new social resources and institutional settings, enabling both innovation and continuity in Muslim practice.²⁴

Thus, *Kitab Tabyin al-Islāh* serves as an essential medium for the community's engagement with prophetic tradition, functioning as a bridge between authoritative religious texts and the everyday lives of Rifa'iyah people. By establishing this book as a prerequisite for marriage, the community ensures that Islamic ethical and legal principles are not merely theoretical but actively implemented in their most personal and significant social institution.²⁵ The tradition also exhibits development and transformation over time; whereas in K.H.A. Rifa'i's era the marriage contract occurred twice (at the Office of Religious Affairs and at home with the *kyai*), currently the marriage contract occurs only once, prioritizing the Rifa'iyah *kyai* as guardian and witness. This evolution demonstrates the dynamic character of living hadith practices as they adapt to changing social and institutional circumstances.²⁶

Conclusion

Based on the results and discussion presented in the preceding sections, this study concludes that the tradition of studying *Kitab Tabyin al-Islāh* before marriage constitutes a well-established and structured practice within the Rifa'iyah community. The tradition is implemented through two principal models: public study sessions organized by the HIMMAH organization and private study sessions conducted with local religious authorities. This practice integrates *Kitab*

²² Fitri Muktianah, "Konsepsi Keluarga Sakinah Menurut Jam'iyyah Rifa'iyyah Desa Kalipucang Wetan Batang" (Skripsi, IAIN Pekalongan, 2019).

²³ Andika Amrul Khaq Ais, "BIMBINGAN PRA NIKAH SEBAGAI SYARAT WAJIB PERNIKAHAN (Tinjauan Sosiologis Terhadap Jama'ah Rifa'iyah di Desa Tambakboyo, Kecamatan Reban, Kabupaten Batang)" (Skripsi, IAIN Pekalongan, 2020).

²⁴ Noviqotul Munawaroh, "Tradisi Pra Nikah Rifa'iyah dalam Dialektika Interpretasi Kitab Tabyin al-Islah di Nusantara," *Proceeding International Conference on Quranic Studies* (2023).

²⁵ Wawancara dengan Laelatul Maghfiroh, ketua HIMMAH, di musholla Khoirul Biqo', 3 Oktober 2025.

²⁶ Noviqotul Munawaroh, "Tradisi Pra Nikah Rifa'iyah dalam Dialektika Interpretasi Kitab Tabyin al-Islah di Nusantara," *Proceeding International Conference on Quranic Studies* (2023).

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Tabyīn al-Iṣlāḥ within a broader religious framework encompassing rituals and supplementary educational activities, thereby demonstrating that prophetic hadith functions not merely as textual norm but as living tradition.

Furthermore, the motivations underlying engagement with this tradition are multifaceted, encompassing educational, religious, social, and emulative dimensions. The community's collective awareness of the importance of knowledge preceding action, as emphasized by prophetic traditions, drives their pursuit of necessary knowledge for successful marriage. This reflects contextual understanding of prophetic teachings, translating ideals into practical needs aligned with their social and cultural context.

Ultimately, this tradition constitutes a clear expression of "living hadith." It demonstrates that hadiths concerning knowledge-seeking, spouse selection based on religious criteria, and the importance of questioning are not merely theoretical but actively lived and practiced. This tradition, according to Suryadilaga's framework, embodies the traditions of writing (the book), oral speech (the teaching sessions), and practice (the premarital preparation). Through this practice, the Rifa'iyah community demonstrates that prophetic traditions serve not only as legislative source but also as active force shaping thought, behavior, and a robust educational-religious system.

Several limitations of this research warrant acknowledgment. First, the study is geographically confined to the Rifa'iyah community in Bojong District of Pekalongan Regency. While this provides an in-depth case study, it may not represent the full diversity of practices within the broader Rifa'iyah community across other regions such as Batang, Pemalang, or other areas where the community exists. Second, the research primarily focuses on experiences of women and young people participating in HIMMAH-organized study circles. Although interviews were conducted with male *kyai*, perspectives of men and older community members regarding this tradition may not have been explored with equivalent depth. Third, this study did not quantitatively measure the long-term impact of premarital education on marriage success or stability. The findings rest on perceptions and motivations of participants and community leaders rather than objective longitudinal data.

Based on the findings and limitations of this study, several directions for future research are suggested. First, subsequent studies should expand geographical scope to include other Rifa'iyah communities in different regions such as Batang, Pemalang, and Wonosobo. Comparative analysis across regions would help identify variations in tradition implementation and distinct cultural influences that may have shaped it. Second, further research should explore perspectives of male participants and older community members to provide more comprehensive understanding of the tradition's role and significance across genders and generations. Third, quantitative or mixed-methods research could measure long-term effects of this premarital education on marital stability, divorce rates, and family well-being. Such research would provide empirical evidence of the tradition's effectiveness and could serve as a model for developing premarital counseling programs in other communities.

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