

## Recitation of Dzikir Ratib al-Attas and *Ratib al-Haddad* at the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik: A Study of the Living Qur'an

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**ABSTRACT** - This study is motivated by the limited anthropological research on ratib dhikr practices in Islamic boarding schools and the tendency of Living Qur'an studies to focus more on the reception of specific Qur'anic verses than on collective wirid prayers. This qualitative field study was conducted at Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School, Gresik. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with ten informants, four weeks of participant observation, and document analysis, and were analyzed using the Miles and Huberman technique. The findings reveal that ratib practice is mandatory, congregational, and conducted according to a fixed schedule, with male students being entrusted to lead Ratib al-Haddad. The practice contributes to inner peace, increased worship discipline, patience, and ease of sustenance, and continues to be observed after graduation. From Talal Asad's perspective, the ratib tradition functions as a means of shaping collective identity and transmitting traditional values. The study concludes that ratib dhikr plays a significant role in fostering a sustainable religious habitus and strengthening the Islamic identity of students.

**ABSTRAK** - Penelitian ini dilatarbelakangi oleh keterbatasan kajian antropologis terhadap praktik dzikir ratib di pesantren serta fokus studi Living Qur'an yang lebih banyak menelaah resepsi ayat-ayat tertentu daripada doa-doa wirid berjamaah. Penelitian kualitatif lapangan ini dilakukan di Pondok Pesantren Mambaus Sholihin, Gresik. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam terhadap sepuluh informan, observasi partisipatif selama empat pekan, dan studi dokumen, kemudian dianalisis menggunakan teknik Miles dan Huberman. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pelaksanaan ratib bersifat wajib, berjamaah, dan terjadwal tetap, dengan keterlibatan santri putra sebagai pemimpin Ratib al-Haddad. Praktik ini berdampak pada ketenteraman batin, peningkatan disiplin ibadah, kesabaran, serta kemudahan rezeki, dan tetap diamalkan setelah santri lulus. Dalam perspektif Talal Asad, tradisi ratib berfungsi sebagai pembentuk identitas kolektif dan pewarisan nilai tradisional. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa dzikir ratib berperan dalam pembentukan habitus religius berkelanjutan dan penguatan identitas Islami santri.

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## INTRODUCTION

As time goes by, discussions about the concept of the Living Qur'an continue to develop and experience significant progress. (Ahmad Rafiq, 2021). The Qur'an, which is actualized through various forms of religious practice, is clear evidence that its study has undergone fundamental changes. (Bill Gent & Abdullah Muhammad, 2019). Studies that previously focused on textual aspects have now developed into an understanding that encompasses social and cultural dimensions in community life. (Heddy Shri Ahimsa-putra, 2012). One notable phenomenon is the tradition of reciting verses of remembrance in *ratib*, which is a tangible manifestation of the Qur'an in the daily lives of Muslims. It should be understood that the Living Qur'an is not only related to the existence of the text itself, but also a social phenomenon that arises from the community's understanding and practice of the Qur'an in their lives. (Mujib Hendri Aji, dkk., 2021). At the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik, reciting verses from *Ratib al-Haddad* and *Ratib al-Attas* is one of the main ways to bring the values of the Qur'an to life and instill them in the lives of the students.

The concept of Living Qur'an is rooted in the idea of Qur'an in Everyday Life, which emphasizes Muslims' understanding and real-life experience of the Qur'an in their daily lives. This concept shows how the teachings of the Qur'an are implemented contextually in practices outside the realm of text. Thus, Living Qur'an does not only focus on the existence of the holy text itself, but also on the social phenomena that arise from the understanding and practice of the Qur'an that grows and develops in a specific time and place. (Ghulam Murtadlo, 2023). One concrete manifestation of practicing the Living Qur'an is the recitation of verses of remembrance for a specific purpose. For example, the recitation of verses of remembrance in the Qur'an is often used as a spiritual means to draw closer to Allah as well as a form of accompanying effort in seeking knowledge and obtaining blessings.

This study aims to explore in depth the practice of reading *dzikir ratib* at the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik. The focus of the study is directed at the main question, namely how *Ratib al-Haddad* and *Ratib al-Attas* *dzikir* are performed, and how the students understand the meaning of these practices. Through this question, the study seeks to reveal the process of applying the concept of Living Qur'an in the tradition of *ratib* recitation. The author obtained data directly from alumni of the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik, who felt it was important to review the tradition of *ratib* recitation that they had practiced while studying at the boarding school. In the analysis, the author traces the implementation and meaning of the *Ratib al-Haddad* and *Ratib al-Attas* *zikr* using an anthropological approach that refers to Talal Asad's theory. This approach was chosen because it provides a comprehensive perspective in understanding the dynamics of religious practices that grow and develop in the *pesantren* community.

Studies on the Living Qur'an, especially those related to the tradition of *ratib* recitation, have become a frequently researched field. Various scientific works, both in the form of theses and articles, have discussed the practice of *ratib dzikir* recitation from various perspectives. One notable study is Mulyadi's work, which provides an in-depth analysis of the recitation of Qur'anic verses in the routine *Ratib al-Attas* activity. The study uses Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge theory to describe in detail the religious behavior and meaning contained in this practice.



Mulyadi successfully explained the origins of the practice of reciting verses from the Qur'an in Ratib al-Attas and provided an in-depth explanation of the behavior and meaning contained therein. He presented various dimensions of meaning, such as objective, expressive, and documentary meanings, with careful and systematic analysis. (mulyadi, 2017). In addition, Ali Sodirin's work examines the practice of reading *Ratib al-Haddad* from the perspective of Living Hadith studies conducted at Jam'iyah Eling Nurul Huda, Darul Hikam Islamic Boarding School, Gandasuli Village, Brebes District. In his research, Sodirin seeks to reveal the meaning of *Ratib al-Haddad* zikr in the daily lives of the Eling Nurul Huda congregation, while also examining the basis for its implementation by referring to hadiths that explain the virtues of this zikr practice. (Ali Sodirin, 2018).

Studies on the tradition of ratib recitation are not only found in thesis-style written works, but are also widely discussed in various journals and scientific articles. One such study was conducted by Nurkholidah, Achmad Lutfi, and Wati Herningsih, published in the Yaqzhan Journal under the title "The Tradition of Mujadah in the Recitation of Dzikir Rātib al-'Aṭṭās at the Raudlatul Banat Islamic Boarding School in Cirebon: A Study of the Living Qur'an." This research examines the origins and implementation of the tradition of mujadah recitation of Ratib al-Attas at the Babakan Ciwaringin Islamic Boarding School in Cirebon. In addition, the researchers also explain the media used in the implementation of this tradition and interpret its practice through Karl Mannheim's sociological theory of knowledge. (Nurkholidah, dkk., 2021).

In general, various previous studies have extensively reviewed the Living Qur'an through the tradition of reciting Ratib al-Attas and *Ratib al-Haddad*. Based on this, this study attempts to present a similar study with a different approach. The author not only highlights the aspect of the implementation of the ratib recitation tradition, but also examines it through the anthropological perspective developed by Talal Asad. In the study of Islamic anthropology, Asad emphasizes that the main object of research is Islam itself, because Islam is understood as a system that regulates all dimensions of the social life of its followers. (Talal Asad, 2009)

This study is a qualitative research aimed at gaining an in-depth understanding of the social phenomena at the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik (PPMS). This boarding school combines two educational systems: modern and salafiyah. The modern model is adapted from the Gontor Modern Boarding School, particularly in the use of Arabic and English through activities such as muhadasah, muhadharah, and istima'. Meanwhile, the Salafi system refers to the Langitan Islamic Boarding School, which emphasizes the study of classical Islamic texts. The combination of these two systems attracted researchers to explore the religious practices of the students, particularly the practice of dhikr and spiritual guidance.

Data collection in this study was conducted through interviews and observations. Respondents were selected using sampling techniques tailored to the objectives of the study. The variety of data collection methods was expected to produce more in-depth and comprehensive findings. This research is relevant because it not only highlights religious aspects but also covers anthropological dimensions, thus it is expected to contribute significantly to the understanding of life at the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik

## RESEARCH METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach utilizing anthropological methods within the framework of the Living Qur'an. Its primary objective is to understand the practices of reciting Ratib al-Haddad and Ratib



al-Attas at the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik. Talal Asad's theory is used as an analytical tool, viewing religion as a living social practice manifested in the traditions and religious behaviors of the students. This approach was chosen because it allows the researcher to deeply capture the meanings, functions, and values of the Qur'an as actualized through the tradition of ratib dhikr within the pesantren environment. (Muhammad Fadli, dan Laily Fitriani. 2023)

The population in this study consists of all individuals directly or indirectly involved in the ratib recitation tradition at the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School. The study's scope is limited to the boarding school community that regularly participates in, leads, or organizes ratib zikr activities, whether as a daily or weekly routine. Informants were selected using purposive sampling, in which the researcher intentionally chose informants considered to have the deepest understanding of the ratib tradition and the capacity to provide rich and in-depth data. Snowball sampling was not used in this study because the criteria for informants were established from the outset based on the social map of the pesantren community.

This study involved twelve informants who were selected based on the criteria of having been directly involved in ratib activities for at least the past two years, holding a structural or cultural role at the pesantren, and agreeing to serve as informants after being briefed on the study's objectives. The informants consisted of two boarding school supervisors, three ustadz leading the ratib dzikir, five active final-year students, and two alumni who still regularly participate in ratib activities at the pesantren. The selection of informants with this composition aims to obtain diverse data from various perspectives, ranging from the highest religious authority at the pesantren to ordinary participants who directly experience ratib practices in their daily lives. (Robby Hidayat, & Syamsul Rizal., 2022).

The research data is divided into two types: primary data, obtained through participatory observation and in-depth interviews with all informants; and secondary data, sourced from classical and contemporary literature on Ratib al-Haddad and Ratib al-Attas, internal pesantren documents, and previous research relevant to the study of the Living Qur'an and the practice of dhikr in pesantren. The development of research instruments was conducted in three stages, including the drafting of semi-structured interview guidelines based on Talal Asad's theory, the development of an observation sheet covering temporal, spatial, and participatory aspects, and the creation of a checklist for documentation. These three instruments were validated through peer debriefing and readability testing.

Data collection was carried out through non-participant and limited participant observation over four weeks, in-depth interviews lasting 45–90 minutes per informant, and a documentary study of the ratib book, activity minutes, and historical records of the pesantren. Data analysis utilized the Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña model, which comprises three stages: data condensation based on key themes (meaning, function, Qur'anic values), presentation of data in narrative and thematic matrix formats, and iterative conclusion-drawing accompanied by continuous verification.

Data validity was tested through source triangulation (comparing data from caregivers, teachers, students, and alumni), methodological triangulation (comparing results from observation, interviews, and documentation), and member checking by confirming interview results with each informant. The entire research process took place at the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik, which has the unique characteristic of being an educational institution that combines modern and Salafi systems.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION



## 1. Profile of Mambaus Solihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik

The Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School is located at Jl. KH. Syafi'i No. 7, Suci Village, Manyar District, Gresik Regency, 7 km from the center of Gresik City. The Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School was founded in 1969 by Almaghfurlah Al-Mukarrom KH. Abdullah Faqih Suci. In the early days, the pesantren's activities were still simple and focused on teaching the Qur'an and classical Islamic texts to the community around Suci Village, Gresik. Over time, the enthusiasm for developing Islamic educational institutions grew stronger, especially after KH. Masbuhin Faqih, his son, received permission from KH. Abdullah Faqih Langitan to establish a more structured pesantren. Although he initially postponed this desire due to considerations of sincerity of intention, spiritual encouragement and support from teachers such as KH. Abdul Hadi Zahid, KH. Abdul Hamid Pasuruan, and KH. Usman Al-Ishaqi strengthened his resolve to establish a pesantren with the main objective of spreading religious knowledge (nasrul 'ilmi). (*Profil Mambaus Sholihin*, 2025).

During the construction period, a number of symbolic events also marked the development of the Islamic boarding school. One of them was the donation of neon lights by KH. Abdul Hamid Pasuruan, which was followed by the arrival of electricity to Suci Village in 1976. Support from other scholars, including KH. Agus Ali Masyhuri (Tulangan Sidoarjo), who purchased land around the Jami' Suci Mosque, helped expand the pesantren area and facilitated the establishment of the Mambaus Sholihin Boys' Pesantren. Initially, this institution was named At-Thohiriyah, while the madrasah was called Roudhotut Tholibin. However, based on the direction of Hadrotus Syaikh KH. Usman Al-Ishaqi, the name of the pesantren was later changed to Mambaus Sholihin, which means "source of pious people." This name reflects the hope that the students who study at this pesantren will become a pious and noble generation, even if not all of them become scholars. (*Profil Mambaus Sholihin*, 2025).

This study has three main focuses. The first focus is the patterns of performing the Ratib al-Attas and Ratib al-Haddad dhikr. The second focus is the spiritual impact experienced by the students. The third focus is the meaning of the Ratib dhikr tradition within the framework of Talal Asad's anthropology.

First focus: The Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik performs the Ratib al-Attas daily after the Asr prayer. The Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik performs the Ratib al-Haddad daily after the Maghrib prayer. Both activities take place at the Mushala Akbar and the Syafi'i Complex. Kyai or male students take turns leading the recitation of the ratib. All students receive a copy of the Majmū'atul Aurād guidebook. The recitation of the ratib begins with tawassul to the Prophet Muhammad, the founder of the pesantren, and the habibs who transmitted the sanad.

Second focus: All informants experienced inner peace while participating in the recitation of the ratib. Some informants experienced moral changes, such as increased religious discipline, improved attitudes toward teachers, and greater patience. All informants continued the practice of the ratib after graduating from the pesantren. Some students sought to understand the meaning of the prayers in the ratib through regular study sessions. The informants felt additional benefits in the form of financial ease, mental strength, and protection from negative influences.

Third focus: Ratib al-Attas and Ratib al-Haddad serve as a means of preserving traditional values. These two ratibs also serve as a means of shaping an individual's spiritual identity. The tradition of ratib dhikr



is passed down through teachers, parents, and individuals with scholarly authority. The Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School mandates both ratibs as compulsory practices for its students.

## 2. The practice of reciting Dzikir Rattib Al-Attas and Ratib Haddad at the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik

Etymologically, the term dzikir comes from the word dzakara–yadzakuru–dzikran, which means “to mention” or “to remember.” (Maula Sari & Marhaban, 2023). reciting, preserving, studying, and drawing closer to God. Terminologically, the meaning of dhikr is not much different from its etymological meaning. In modern dictionaries such as Al-Munawwir and Al-Munjid, dhikr is defined as the act of glorifying Allah SWT, mentioning His name, and keeping Him in one's memory and consciousness. (Joko S. Kahhar & Gilang Cita Madinah, 2007). One of the most widely practiced forms of dhikr among Indonesians is ratib dhikr, which is routinely performed at the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic boarding school in Gresik. Ratib al-Attas and *Ratib al-Haddad* are an important part of the daily activities of the students as a means of constantly remembering and drawing closer to Allah SWT.

At the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik, the tradition of reciting Ratib al-Attas and *Ratib al-Haddad* is consistently carried out every afternoon and evening. KH. Masbuhin Faqih, as the head of the boarding school, has instilled this practice since the institution was first established. Ratib al-Attas is recited every day after Asr prayer, while *Ratib al-Haddad* is recited after Maghrib prayer, at the Akbar Mushala and the Syafi'i Complex of the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik. This ratib zikir practice is not just a routine, but also a tangible form of spiritual effort to always remember Allah. Through the consistency of its implementation, this boarding school has succeeded in creating a religious atmosphere filled with blessings and tranquility for both the students and the surrounding community. (Muhammad Ivan Rizk Maulana, komunikasi pribadi, 20 Oktober 2025a).

In practice, the recitation of dzikir ratib is followed by all students at the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik. This activity is usually led directly by the boarding school supervisor, KH. Masbuhin Faqih. However, specifically for the recitation of *Ratib al-Haddad*, which is held every night after Maghrib prayers, he often gives male students the opportunity to lead the dzikir. In addition to the obligation to attend the five daily prayers in congregation, the recitation of Ratib al-Attas in the afternoon and *Ratib al-Haddad* in the evening are also part of the students' obligations. (Muhammad Ivan Rizk Maulana, komunikasi pribadi, 20 Oktober 2025b).

To make it easier for students to participate in the dzikir Ratib al-Attas and *Ratib al-Haddad* activities, the boarding school administrators distributed guidebooks containing the readings for both dzikir to each new student at the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik. The guidebook is titled Majmū'atul Aurād, which contains daily prayers as well as Ratib al-Attas wa *Ratib al-Haddad* by Habib Ali bin Ahmad al-Attas Pekalongan. Before the recitation of the dhikr began, the kyai first led the tawassul to the Prophet Muhammad S.A.W., then to the founders of the boarding school, and finally to the habaib who played a role in passing down the sanad of the ratib dhikr.





Based on an analysis of field data, this study yielded three main findings. The first finding: The practice of Ratib at the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School is mandatory, performed in congregation, and follows a fixed schedule. The kyai gives male students the opportunity to lead the recitation of Ratib al-Haddad as a form of spiritual leadership succession. Second finding: The spiritual impact of the ratib practice encompasses three dimensions: the affective (inner peace), the moral (discipline, patience, respect for the teacher), and the material (financial ease, protection). The continuation of the practice after graduating from the pesantren indicates the formation of long-term religious patterns.

Finding three: Within Talal Asad's framework, the significance of the ratib tradition is not limited to ritual worship. The ratib serves as an instrument for the formation of collective identity, the transmission of traditional values, and the negotiation between the authority of the kyai and the active participation of the santri.

### 3. The Spiritual Impact and Religious Experience of Santri in Reading Wirid *Ratib al-Haddad* and Ratib al-Attas

The recitation of *Ratib al-Haddad* and Ratib al-Attas at the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic boarding school is an important part of the daily routine of zikr (remembrance of God) that has been passed down through the religious authority of the caretakers and teachers. Respondents stated that they began to learn and practice these two ratibs when they first entered the boarding school, because ratib is a mandatory practice that is performed in congregation every day. The habit of practicing these rituals is in line with the concept of internalizing religious traditions in the pesantren culture, where the teachers act as transmitters of spiritual and moral discipline to the santri. (Zamakhsyari Dhofier, 2011). The main motivation for santri to participate in ratib practices is largely driven by encouragement from their teachers and the pesantren tradition that is deeply rooted in their daily lives. Thus, participation in this dzikir ritual is not only personal, but also a form of obedience to the social structure of the pesantren, which aims to shape the religious habitus of the santri.

Spiritually, all interviewees admitted to feeling inner peace while participating in the recitation of *Ratib al-Haddad* and Ratib al-Attas in congregation. The solemn atmosphere in the rhythm of the dzikir recitation is seen as capable of creating collective energy that strengthens faith and helps reduce the mental burden faced in learning activities at the pesantren. This experience shows that dzikir in congregation is a means of purifying the heart and strengthening the psyche, in line with religious psychology studies which emphasize that ritual practices can reduce anxiety and improve individual inner well-being. In addition to spiritual tranquility, several respondents also mentioned significant moral changes within themselves, such as increased discipline in worship, improved manners towards teachers, and increased patience in facing challenges. These findings indicate that the practice of ratib serves as an instrument for the formation of authentic Islamic character among santri.

In terms of understanding the ratib text, the majority of respondents stated that they emphasized contemplation rather than a deep understanding of the meaning. However, some students made efforts to learn the meaning of the prayers contained in the ratib through regular study and explanations from their teachers. This situation shows that the ritual of dzikir in Islamic boarding schools is not only performative, but also opens up opportunities for the gradual development of religious cognitive understanding. (Martin van Bruinessen, 1991). After graduating, all interviewees continued to practice ratib, although no longer in a congregational setting. This proves that the spiritual practices developed through routine at the pesantren



have formed long-term religious patterns or continuous piety that continue to be rooted in their lives outside the pesantren institution.(Talal Asad, 1993).

Furthermore, the sources agreed that the benefits they felt after regularly practicing *Ratib al-Haddad* and al-Attas were not only inner peace, but also ease in matters of sustenance, mental strength in facing problems, and protection from negative things. Religious experiences such as this are understood as a form of Allah's response to spiritual efforts made through dhikr. Although not all respondents experienced specific events that were considered karamah, the continuity of the benefits in their lives strengthened their belief in the blessings of ratib practices. In addition, all sources assessed that the practice of Ratib remains highly relevant to the lives of Muslims today, especially in maintaining a balance between physical and spiritual needs amid the challenges of a fast-paced and materialistic modernity. Thus, dzikir ratib is not merely seen as a tradition of the past, but as a practice of the Living Qur'an that connects the texts of the Qur'an and prayers with the dynamics of contemporary Muslim life.(Ahmad Rafiq, 2007).

#### 4. The Meaning of the Traditions of Dzikir Ratib al-Attas and Dzikir *Ratib al-Haddad* Based on an Analysis of Talal Asad's Anthropological Theory

The tradition of dhikr in Islam is an important element that has become an integral part of the religious practices of Muslims.(Ferhat Arslan, 2015). Two common forms of dhikr, namely Ratib al-Attas and *Ratib al-Haddad*, have profound meanings in the realm of Islamic spirituality. To understand the essence of both, an analysis can be conducted through the anthropological perspective of Talal Asad. According to Asad, religious practices cannot be separated from the cultural, historical, and social contexts that surround them. Thus, dhikr is not merely a ritual of worship, but also a manifestation of spiritual meaning rooted in tradition and community identity. Ratib al-Attas, for example, reflects a cultural heritage rich in religious values while also demonstrating the continuity between Islamic teachings and the social life of the community. Through an anthropological approach, this practice can be understood as a manifestation of diversity and the richness of traditions that continue to live on in the lives of Muslims.(Karman, 2022).

Meanwhile, *Ratib al-Haddad* presents a more personal spiritual dimension, with an emphasis on closeness and intimacy between servants and the Creator. This dhikr becomes a means for individuals to embark on a profound spiritual journey, while strengthening their awareness of Allah's presence in every aspect of life. Through Talal Asad's anthropological perspective, the practice of *Ratib al-Haddad* can be understood as a process of forming an individual's spiritual identity that is not only personal in nature, but also has social significance in building religious relationships within society.

Ratib al-Attas and *Ratib al-Haddad* are not merely carried out as religious routines, but also serve as a means of preserving and passing on traditional values. From an anthropological perspective, these two traditions of dhikr reflect the dynamic relationship between humans and their environment, where spiritual practices become a means of instilling noble values, maintaining cultural continuity, and strengthening religious identity amid a diverse society.(norma Azmi Farida & Rizqotul Luqi Mufidah, 2020). By applying Talal Asad's anthropological analysis, it can be understood that the meaning of the Ratib al-Attas and *Ratib al-Haddad* dzikir traditions is not limited to religious aspects, but also encompasses the complex relationship between individuals, culture, and spirituality. This practice of dhikr reflects the diversity and dynamics of Islamic traditions that continue to grow and adapt according to the social context and developments of the times, while also demonstrating how spiritual values remain alive in Muslim communities. The essence of these traditions lies not in change or adaptation, but in consistent preservation through a process of



purification. This tradition can be passed down through various sources, ranging from a teacher, parents, friends, to individuals who have special abilities in a particular field. Through transmission from generation to generation and interactions between individuals, the values and practices contained in the tradition are preserved and kept alive.

Talal Asad, in his study, interprets the term tradition through two main perspectives. First, tradition is viewed as a theoretical concept that raises questions about authority, time, language use, and how it manifests itself in everyday life. Second, tradition is understood as an empirical framework that connects discursive and material aspects through small practices in everyday life. In this view, the essence of tradition does not lie in change or innovation, but in the effort to continuously preserve and purify it through a process of critical learning. Tradition is passed down from one generation to the next through various channels such as teachers, parents, friends, and individuals who have spiritual or scientific authority so that the values and practices contained within it remain alive and preserved in the social dynamics of society.

In the context of Talal Asad's thinking, tradition has an important position as a framework that helps individuals understand themselves and their social environment. Tradition is not merely a static cultural heritage, but rather a source of knowledge that continues to evolve through social interaction and reflection on past experiences. Thus, tradition plays an active role in shaping identity, both on a personal and collective level, and ensures that inherited values remain relevant in the life of society on an ongoing basis.

The tradition of reciting dzikir ratib is a religious practice that has become an integral part of the religious and cultural life of the community. This is reflected in the communal recitation of verses from the Qur'an and specific prayers in Islamic boarding schools as part of regular dzikir practices. The selection of specific verses and their recitation at certain times of the day demonstrates a deep spiritual value. At the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik, for example, the recitation of Ratib al-Attas and *Ratib al-Haddad* is carried out in congregation according to a predetermined schedule, making it an important part of the students' worship routine.

Therefore, the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik has designated the recitation of Ratib al-Attas and *Ratib al-Haddad* as practices that must be followed by students. The urgency of this practice lies not only in its ritual dimension, but also in the social and spiritual values that accompany it, as explained in Talal Asad's theoretical framework. Asad emphasizes that religious practices are not merely rituals, but rather a means of forming the identity and social structure of a community. At the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik, the recitation of Ratib al-Attas and *Ratib al-Haddad* serves to strengthen the Islamic identity of the students while also being an important part of the process of forming religiously devout individuals. (Alif Kemal Pratama, dkk., 2022)

Theoretical implications: This study enriches the field of Living Qur'an studies by demonstrating that the practice of ratib dhikr constitutes a form of active, rather than passive, reception. Students not only receive the text of the prayers but also internalize these values into long-term moral behavior. This study also contributes to the study of pesantren by revealing the mechanisms of reciprocal transmission of spiritual traditions between kyai and santri.

Practical implications: Other Islamic boarding schools wishing to incorporate the practice of ratib into their spiritual curriculum can adopt three strategies from Mambaus Sholihin. The first strategy is the provision of a written guidebook (*Majmū'atul Aurād*) distributed to every new student. The second strategy is a fixed



schedule integrated with the obligatory prayers (after Asr and after Maghrib). The third strategy is providing opportunities for senior students to lead the ritual as a form of spiritual leadership succession.

Future research could compare the effectiveness of transmitting spiritual values between pesantren that implement ratib as a mandatory congregational practice and those that implement it as a voluntary individual practice. Further research could examine the relationship between the duration of participation in ratib practices (in years) and the degree of change in students' moral behavior using quantitative methods.

Future research is recommended to explore the practice of ratib zikr in pesantren outside Java (Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Papua) to identify variations in implementation patterns and spiritual impacts that may differ from the Gresik context. Further research could also examine the perspectives of students who do not experience positive spiritual impacts from the ratib practice, as all informants in this study consistently reported positive impacts.

## CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the recitation of Ratib al-Attas and Ratib al-Haddad at the Mambaus Sholihin Islamic Boarding School in Gresik is a clear manifestation of the Living Qur'an, where the values of the Qur'an are not only read but also brought to life in daily social and spiritual practices. Through Talal Asad's religious anthropology approach, this tradition is understood not merely as a ritual of worship, but as a living religious practice that plays a role in transmitting religious authority, shaping religious habitus, and strengthening the Islamic identity of the santri. Functionally, this practice successfully internalizes spiritual values such as inner peace, discipline, and continuity of worship, even after the santri become alumni. Thus, this study confirms that the tradition of dzikir ratib is not only relevant in the context of Islamic boarding schools but also serves as a means of maintaining the continuity of Islamic traditions and balancing spiritual life amid the challenges of modernity.

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